Doubling vs. Omission: Insights from Afrikaans[*]

Theresa Biberauer ▣ Cambridge University

1 ▣ Introduction

It has often been observed that colloquial Afrikaans features a strikingly wide range of what may broadly be described as *constituent repetitions* (cf. Roberge 2000:106, who cites i.a. Changuion 1848:128, Schuchardt 1885:468, Hesseling 1899:118-199, Du Toit 1905:104, Bosman 1923:136, Le Roux 1923 and Reinecke 1937:562 and Ponelis 1993). These range from very productive reduplication in the lexical domain (cf. Botha 1988/2006) to various kinds of doubling in the syntactic domain, some of which are semantically vacuous, while others are not. This paper is concerned with two of the non-lexical 'constituent repetition' phenomena found in modern spoken Afrikaans (MSA), namely *nie*-doubling and adposition doubling. These are illustrated below:

(1) Ek   ken <u>nie</u>   daardie man <u>nie</u>.
     I   know[1] not   that   man   not
     'I don't know that man.'

(2) Hy   storm   <u>uit</u>die huis <u>uit</u>.
     he   storm   out the   house out
     'He storms out of the house.'

The above structures differ in that (1) constitutes the standard Afrikaans norm, while (2) is an exclusively spoken-language form; it does, however, as far as I am aware, surface in the production of all native-speakers of Afrikaans. A common feature of the doubling structures illustrated in (1-2) is that they alternate in the spoken language with structures in which a doubled element is omitted. Consider (3-4) in this connection:

(3) Ek   ken daardie man <u>nie</u>.
     I   know that   man   not
     'I don't know that man.'

(4) Hy   storm   die huis <u>uit</u>.
     he   storm   the   house out
     'He storms out of the house.'

Both of the above structures are also grammatical in standard Afrikaans (SA). SA therefore permits (1) and (3), while MSA sanctions all of the illustrated structures. Crucially, though, (1) and (3) are usually thought to be informationally distinct in both varieties, while (2)/(4) alternate freely in MSA. Thus *daardie man* in (1) is generally interpreted as new or in some way focused information, while the same DP in (3) tends to

[1] Agreementless glosses throughout the paper reflect the absence of verbal agreement on the verbs concerned.

receive an old-/unfocussed information interpretation in a manner familiar from scrambling structures in West Germanic (cf. Heim 1982 *et seq.*).

The purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it aims at presenting a systematic description and analysis of the doubling vs. omission phenomena illustrated above and secondly, it aims thereby at illustrating the valuable role that careful investigation of doubling vs. omission alternations can play in the understanding of the structural make-up of otherwise opaque or ambiguous structures. The paper is structured as follows: section 2 presents the descriptive facts, while section 3 focuses on their analysis. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2 ◙ Description of the phenomena

2.1 ◙ *Nie*-doubling

Afrikaans (in all its forms) is a Negative Concord (NC) language rather than a Double Negation one (cf. Zeijlstra 2006). In contrast to Dutch, Afrikaans negative structures therefore generally (see below) feature two negators which do not cancel each other out. Consider (5-6):

(5) a. Ik ben <u>niet</u> rijk.   [Dutch]
         I am not rich
         'I am not rich.'

     b. Ek is <u>nie</u> ryk <u>nie</u>.   [Afrikaans]
         I is not rich not
         'I am not rich.'

(6) a. Zij hebben <u>nooit</u> een auto gehad.   [Dutch]
         they have never car had
         'They have never had a car.'

     b. Hulle het <u>nooit</u> 'n kar gehad <u>nie</u>.   [Afrikaans]
         they have never a car had not
         'They have never had a car.'

As illustrated above, the negators in Afrikaans negative structures are identical in the absence of specific negators like *nooit* in (6b).[2] These facts are well known, but what is less often noted in connection with Afrikaans negation is that negative structures do not always feature the 'expected' number of negation elements. Consider (3) above and also the examples in (7-8):

(7) a. Ek verstaan <u>nie</u> sy redenasie <u>nie</u>.
         I understand not his reasoning not
         'I don't understand his reasoning.'

     a'. … dat ek <u>nie</u> sy redenasie verstaan <u>nie</u>.
          that I not his reasoning understand not
          '… that I don't understand his reasoning.'

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[2] Helmut Weiß has drawn my attention to another Germanic variety that appears in many respects to behave very similarly to Afrikaans, namely the largely unstudied German dialect of Mòcheno (Deutsch-Fersentalerisch; cf. Rowley 1986, n.d.). The following examples (from Rowley) illustrate the similarity, which does not appear to be replicated elsewhere in the Germanic context (cf. den Besten 1986 and Biberauer 2006 for discussion):

(i)   der hat mer <u>net</u> khein wen er kimp <u>net</u>.
      he has me not said when he comes not
      'He didn't tell me when he was coming.'

(ii) de hat tsehen as <u>net</u> prope reht is <u>net</u>.
      she has seen that not quite right was not
      'She saw that it wasn't quite right.'

   b.   Ek   verstaan   sy redenasie <u>nie</u>.
        I   understand his reasoning   not
        'I don't understand his reasoning.'

   b'. …dat ek sy redenasie <u>nie</u> verstaan   <u>nie</u>
         that I his reasoning not understand not
        '… that I don't understand his reasoning'

(8) a.   Ek   verstaan   <u>nie</u>.
        I   understand not
        'I don't understand.'

   a'. … dat ek <u>nie</u> verstaan <u>nie</u>

   b.   Ek   het   <u>nie</u>   verstaan   <u>nie</u>.
        I   have not   understood not
        'I didn't understand.'

   b'. … dat ek <u>nie</u> verstaan het <u>nie</u>

Comparing (7a) and (7b), we see the same alternation as that illustrated in (1) and (3) above: where two *nie*s are present as in (1) and (7a), the object tends to be interpreted as part of the information focus, either independently as new/focused information or as part of an all-rhematic structure of the kind that may serve as a reply to thetic questions like *What happened?* By contrast, that in (3) and (7) is necessarily interpreted as some kind of old information and, as such, structures of this kind are never felicitous as responses to thetic questions. Intriguingly, the discrepancy in the number of realisable *nie*s disappears in embedded clauses as the '-examples in each case show: two *nie*s are always required in this context, regardless of the positioning of the object. That the objects in (7a) and (7b) are in fact located in different positions is clearly shown by the fact that native-speakers produce respectively (7a') and (7b') when asked to give the embedded counterparts of these structures; in a sense, then, *nie*-doubling/-omission signals the presence vs. absence of scrambling in Afrikaans, a point to which we return in section 3.1.2 below.[3] The examples in (8) illustrate another context in which the double vs. single *nie*-realisation discrepancy surfaces in matrix clauses, only to be neutralised in the corresponding embedded contexts. As shown in (8a), simple-tense containing matrix clauses feature only a single *nie*, while two *nie*s surface in the corresponding embedded clause. In (8a)'s compound-tense counterpart (8b), two *nie*s are required in both matrix and embedded contexts. Seemingly, then, both semantic(-pragmatic) (scrambling vs. non-scrambling) and non-semantic factors (matrix vs. embedded clause-type, simple vs. compound tense) can play a role in conditioning the presence vs. absence of the two *nie*s typically associated with Afrikaans NC. It should be noted, though, that there are also structures in which 'too few' *nie*s are always mandatory. Consider (9-10) in this connection:

(9) a.   Ek   verstaan   hom <u>nie</u>.
        I   understand him   not
        'I don't understand him.'

   b.   Ek   verstaan   waarskynlik/ moontlik/ sonder twyfel <u>nie</u>.
        I   understand probably   possibly   without doubt   not
        'I probably/possibly/undoubtedly don't understand.'

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[3] I will remain agnostic in this paper on the much-debated question of whether scrambling is in fact a movement-derived or a base-generated phenomenon (see Richards 2004 for recent discussion). A *scrambled* order should thus be simply understood as one in which the object is located to the left of the position in which it surfaces in a structure in which scrambling has not taken place.

(10) a. Ek weet <u>nie</u> wat hy doen <u>nie</u>.
         I   know not   what he do   not
         'I don't know what he's doing.'
   a'. … dat ek <u>nie</u> weet wat hy doen <u>nie</u>
   b.   Ek weet <u>nie</u> wat hy <u>nie</u> doen <u>nie</u>.
        I   know not   what he not   do   not
        'I don't know what he doesn't do/isn't doing'
   b'. … dat ek <u>nie</u> weet wat hy <u>nie</u> doen <u>nie</u>

The examples in (9) illustrate two matrix contexts in which only a single *nie* is possible: matrix clauses featuring pronominal objects like (9a) are not compatible with a second *nie*, and neither are intransitive verbs like *verstaan* when they occur on their own (cf. (8a) above) or when they are modified by adverbials of the kind illustrated in (9b). The examples in (10), in turn, show that structures like (10a) in which the matrix clause is negated exhibit the expected two *nie*s, whereas those like (10b) in which both the matrix and the embedded clause are negated obligatorily feature only three. This state of affairs is replicated when this structure is further embedded within another clause, as shown in (10b').

Given the above data, the question that arises is whether Afrikaans is in fact a strict NC language in the sense of Giannakidou (2005)? In other words, is it always the case that a semantically inert negation element must, in some sense, be co-present wherever 'true' negators appear? I will argue that this is indeed the case; more specifically, I will argue that the presence vs. absence of the 'second' *nie* in Afrikaans (henceforth: doubling vs. omission) is entirely predictable once one takes in account (a) the syntactic structure of negative-containing sentences and (b) the way in which these are mapped onto phonological structure. As such, Afrikaans negatives are argued to facilitate specific insights into Afrikaans clause structure more generally, and also into how this compares to that of other Germanic languages and languages more generally

2.2 ▣ Adposition doubling

Like its Germanic relatives, Afrikaans can be described as a 'satellite-framed' language, i.e. a language which expresses located and directed motion by means of adpositional structures (cf. Talmy 1985 among many others). A particularly striking aspect of the adpositional system employed by Afrikaans is the consistency with which located as opposed to directed motion is expressed (cf. also Biberauer & Folli 2004). Consider (11-12) in this regard:

(11) a. Hulle loop <u>in</u> die veld.
         they   walk in the   bush
         'They are walking in the bush.'
   b.   Sy ry   <u>op</u> die plaaspad.
        she drive on the   farm-road
        'She is driving on the farm road.'

(12) a. Hulle loop die veld **<u>in</u>**.
         they   walk the bush in
         'They are walking into the bush.'
   b.   Sy ry   die plaaspad <u>op</u> (na die buurman se   huis).
        she drive the farm-road up to the   neighbour POSS house
        'She drives up the farm-road to the neighbour's house.'

As the examples show, there is a class of adpositional elements in Afrikaans that can surface both as prepositions and postpositions (*deur* – 'through', *oor* – 'over', *binne* –'inside'

and *buite* – 'outside' are further examples). Significantly, the distinction between located and directed motion can be as unambiguously expressed by means of these adpositional elements as by their non-alternating counterparts thanks to the fact that Afrikaans is even more systematic than Dutch in respect of the correlation between located motion and prepositional complexes on the one hand and directed motion and postpositional complexes on the other.[4] A significant piece of (MSA) evidence highlighting the important role played by the structure of the adpositional complex in determining locative vs. directional semantics is illustrated in (13) below:

(13) a. Hy is in die bos.
        he   is in the   forest
        'He is in the forest (right now).' (= unambiguous locative interpretation)
    b. Hy is die bos in.
        he   is the   forest in
        'He went into the forest.' (= unambiguous directed motion interpretation)

Here we see that the interpretations usually associated with pre- and postpositional structures respectively fall out even in the absence of a clearly specified motion verb. The precise nature of the semantically impoverished verb *is* will not concern us here, but it is worth noting that SA lacks Dutch-style auxiliary selection, consistently employing the auxiliary *het* ('have') in compound tenses. The above structures therefore cannot simply involve a temporal auxiliary and a 'silent' motion verb (cf. van Riemsdijk's (2003) proposal for superficially very similar constructions in Dutch and Swiss German; the distinct temporal interpretations ascribed to structures like (13a,b) – present tense in the located motion case and past in the directed motion one – further underline the implausibility of a 'silent' verb analysis). The important point for our current purposes is that structures like those in (13) highlight the fact that it is, in general, possible to say that standard Afrikaans (SA) location-related prepositions express located motion, while their postpositional counterparts express directed motion.[5]

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[4] Consider, for example, the fact that Dutch productively makes use of prepositional *naar* ('to') to express directed motion, while Afrikaans has replaced the majority of *naar*-containing structures with postpositional *toe*-containing ones. The Afrikaans translation equivalent (ii) of Dutch (i) illustrates:

(i)   Ik ga <u>naar</u> Amsterdam/ school/   boven/bed.
         I go to   Amsterdam/ school/   above/ bed
         'I am going (to) Amsterdam/school/upstairs/bed.'
(ii)   Ek gaan Amsterdam/skool/bo/bed <u>toe</u>

[5] Biberauer & Folli (2004) note an apparently systematic exception to this generalization in MSA, namely prepositional structures such as the following which are unexpectedly amenable to a directed motion interpretation:

(i) Hy hardloop/hol/   nael/ jaag/ skiet/ snel/ * draf/ *drentel/ *piekel/ * sleep <u>in/uit</u> die bos.
     he run   dash sprint race shoot speed jog   stroll dawdle drag in/out the forest
     'He runs/dashes/sprints/races/shoots/speeds/*jogs/*strolls/*dawdles/*drags himself into/out of the forest.'

(ii) Hy spring/   klim/ duik/ *gly/ * rol/ * bons <u>in/uit</u> die bad.
     he jump/   climb dive slip   roll   bounce in/out the bath
     'He jumps/climbs/slips/rolls/bounces into/out of the bath.'

According to Biberauer & Folli, the crucial factor distinguishing prepositional structures permitting directed motion interpretations alongside the expected located motion interpretation is the nature of the verb. Specifically, they propose that verbs encoding directionality as part of their meaning will license directed motion readings, while those which do not will not. Thus only the verbs expressing rapid, typically forwards-oriented motion are compatible with a directed motion interpretation in (i); *draf,* the 'run'-word which is used in the first instance to refer to the recreational activity of running, an activity which lacks the typical-direction component common to the other 'run' verbs, cannot and neither can the inherently directionless

In addition to pre- and postpositional structures, SA also features various circumpositional structures. Consider (14) in this connection:

(14) a. Die vragskuit vaar <u>onder</u> die brug <u>deur</u>.
     the barge travel under the bridge through
     'The barge passes through under the bridge.'

    b. Sy ry <u>met</u> die plaaspad <u>op</u>.
     she drive with the farm-road up
     'She drives up (along) the farm-road.'

    c. Hulle loop <u>na</u> die huis <u>toe</u>.
     they walk to the house to
     'They walk to the (specific) house.'
       (≠ 'They go home' which must be *Hulle loop huis <u>toe</u>* – 'They walk house to', along the lines discussed in Note 3)

As the examples in (14) show, these structures are associated with directed motion interpretations, an association which is once again highly systematic in both SA and MSA.[6] In addition to these circumpositional structures, MSA, but not SA, also permits a range of circumpositional structures featuring a repeated adpositional element and expressing directed motion. Consider (15):

(15) a. Hulle loop <u>in</u> die veld <u>in</u>.
     they walk in the bush in
     'They are walking into the bush.'
       = SA Hulle loop die veld <u>in</u>.

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motion verbs *drentel* and *piekel*. Similarly, inherently non-directional *gly, rol* and *bons* cannot license a directional reading in (ii), whereas [+directional] *spring, klim* and *duik* can.

[6] Ponelis (1993:347-8) notes two exceptions to this generalisation, but it should be noted that these are dialectal forms specifically associated with so-called *(West) Cape Afrikaans*, i.e. the variety spoken in the Western Cape province which still reflects many of the historic Malay influences (cf. Ponelis 1993:60ff, Roberge 2005). The examples are reproduced here:

(i) Hulle bly <u>in</u> Athlone <u>in</u>. (SA: Hulle bly <u>in</u> Athlone)
   they stay in Athlone in
   'They live in Athlone.'

(ii) Sny die leer <u>met</u> 'n mes <u>saam</u>. (SA: Sny die leer <u>met</u> 'n mes)
   cut the leather with a knife together
   'Cut the leather with a knife.'

(i) departs from the regular pattern in SA in that the structure receives an unambiguously locative, rather than a directed motion interpretation, while (ii) departs from the pattern by virtue of not expressing motion of any kind (as Ponelis 1993:348 notes, (ii) appears to be a contaminated form combining the SA prepositional structure featuring *met*, e.g. *met hulle* – 'with them' and the SA associative construction featuring postpositional *saam*, e.g. *Ons stap met hulle saam* – 'We walk with them together', i.e. we walk with them. The structure therefore appears to involve tautological doubling.). To the best of my knowledge, these are isolated forms that have become lexicalised specifically in Cape Afrikaans. SA and MSA do not permit structures like (i) at all and the only exceptions to the circumpositional structures = directed motion structures generalization appear to be synchronically non-motion-related fossilized expressions such as the following:

(iii) <u>Op</u> vyf mense <u>na</u> het hulle almal gevind.
   on five people after have they everyone found
   'Except for five people, they found everyone.'

(iv) <u>Van</u> gister <u>af</u> is petrol weer goedkoper.
   from yesterday off is petrol again cheaper
   'From yesterday, petrol has been cheaper again.'

b. Hy klim <u>op</u> die berg <u>op</u>.
   he climb on the mountain on
   'He climbs up the mountain.'
        = SA Hy klim die berg <u>op</u>
c. Hy hol <u>uit</u> die huis <u>uit</u>.
   he dash out the house out
   'He races out of the house.'
        = SA *Hy hol die huis* **uit**

As shown above, the doubling structures that surface in MSA are interpretively equivalent to the postpositional directed motion structures in SA: clearly, therefore, the circumpositional pattern found in SA has been extended in MSA to include doubling structures not available in SA. As noted in the introduction, circumpositional structures of this type alternate with the prescriptively correct postpositional structures, i.e. native-speakers use post- and circumpositional structures interchangeably in MSA. The structures in (15) therefore represent instances of free variation or 'true optionality' in MSA.

3 ▢ ANALYSING THE PHENOMENA

3.1 ▢ *NIE* DOUBLING VS. OMISSION

Somewhat surprisingly, given how frequently Afrikaans's distinctive negation pattern is mentioned in the descriptive literature, it has not until recently received much attention in the generative literature (Waher 1978, 1983, 1988 and Robbers 1992 represent some early exceptions). In recent years, three distinct minimalist analyses have, however, emerged – Oosthuizen (1998), Molnárfi (2002, 2004) and Bell (2004a,b), all three of which focus on the nature and distribution of Afrikaans's 'un-Germanic' clause-final negator, the 'second' *nie* (henceforth: nie_2). Biberauer (2006) evaluates these proposals, showing why a multiple-spellout proposal along the lines of Molnárfi's cannot be upheld and also highlighting various shortcomings with Bell's heavily Oosthuizen-influenced analysis. Here I will follow Biberauer (2006) in proposing an analysis of Afrikaans negation that also takes Oosthuizen (1998) as its starting point.

3.1.1 ▢ AFRIKAANS NEGATION: THE PROPOSED ANALYSIS

3.1.1.1 ▢ DISTINGUISHING THE TWO NEGATORS

As is the case in other NC languages, the two negators in Afrikaans's NC structures have very different functions: the first negator is the real or 'true' negator (i.e. the contentful negation element), while the second (nie_2) is most commonly viewed as a scope-marking element (i.e. a functional element; although see Biberauer 2006 and below for critical discussion of this view). This distinction also obtains when a negative structure contains two *nie*s: the first (nie_1) is the 'true' negator, while the second is the 'scope-marker'. Crucially, therefore, Afrikaans differs from Romance-style NC systems in which the first element is the 'true' negator, but the second is usually viewed as a reinforcer (contemporary spoken French being a well-known exception to this generalisation.). Synchronically, this would seem rather clearly not to be the case for nie_2, but see below (and also Roberge 2000 for a diachronic proposal that suggests an initially reinforcing origin for nie_2 and Biberauer 2006 for further discussion of this point).

Let us consider the evidence in favour of treating the two *nie*s in Afrikaans negative structures in the manner outlined above. Oosthuizen (1998) provides two compelling arguments. Firstly, he shows that omitting the first negator always results either in ungrammaticality (cf. (17)) or a change in meaning (cf. (16)) (nie_2 is henceforth glossed

NEG to reflect that fact that it does not contribute independent negative meaning to structures in which it occurs):

(16) a. Hy   kom   <u>nie</u>$_1$ in <u>nie</u>$_2$.
      he   come   not   in NEG
      'He doesn't come in/He isn't coming in.'

   b.* Hy   kom   in <u>nie</u>$_2$.
      he   come   in NEG
      'He doesn't come in/He isn't coming in.'

(17) a. Ek   lees   <u>nie</u>$_1$ sulke nonsens <u>nie</u>$_2$.
      I   read   not   such nonsense NEG
      'I don't read such nonsense.'

   b. Ek   lees   sulke nonsens <u>NIE</u>$_2$.
      I   read   such nonsense not
      'I emphatically do not read such nonsense!'

By contrast, omitting the second negator results in a structure that sounds like the final negator was mistakenly omitted (or as if the speaker is a non-native; native English speakers very commonly omit *nie*$_2$). Thus the *nie*$_2$-less counterparts of the above examples are interpreted precisely like their SA counterparts in (16/17a) above:

(18) a. Hy kom <u>nie</u>$_1$ in
      he come not in
      'He doesn't come in/He isn't coming in.'

   b. Ek   lees   <u>nie</u>$_1$ sulke nonsens.
      I   read   not   such nonsense
      'I don't read such nonsense.'

Oosthuizen also observes that only the first negation element can be modified:

(19) a. Jy   let <u>glad</u>/   <u>hoegenaamd</u>/ <u>absoluut</u>/ <u>geheel en al</u> nie$_1$ op nie$_2$.
      you attend altogether/ at-all/   absolutely/ whole and all   not   up NEG
      'You aren't remotely paying attention.'

   b.* Jy let nie$_1$ op <u>glad</u>/<u>hoegenaamd</u>/<u>absoluut</u>/<u>geheel en al</u> nie$_2$.

Also notable in this regard is the existence of various lexicalised reinforced negatives (cf. (20)), all of which involve the first negator, as illustrated in (21):

(20) a. so nimmer as te nooit
      so never   as to never
      'no way ever'

   b. niks   en   niemand
      nothing and no-one
      'nothing and no-one'

   c. g'n   niks
      no   nothing
      'no nothing'

   d. geen iemand
      no   nobody
      'absolutely no-one'

   e. geensins
      no-sense
      'not remotely'

    f.   geen stuk
        no   piece
        'not at all'

(21) a. Hy   sal (<u>so</u> <u>nimmer</u> <u>as</u> <u>te</u>)<u>nooit</u>$_1$ saamkom nie$_2$.
         he   will so never   as to never   along-come NEG
         'There's no way he'll ever come along.'

     b. <u>Niks</u>   <u>en</u>   <u>niemand</u>$_1$ gaan hom daarvan oortuig nie$_2$.
         nothing and no-one   go   him there-of convince NEG
         'Nothing will ever convince him of that.'

Furthermore, it is only the first negator that can be reinforced by an 'extra'/emphatic *nie* (cf. Zeijlstra's (2006) Emphatic Double Negation: crucially, the 'true' negative element in such structures must be stressed to preclude the reading in terms of which the 'true' negative element and the following *nie$_1$* are interpreted as independent negators; cf. Zeijlstra for further discussion.):

(22) a. Ek   lees <u>NOOIT</u>   <u>nie</u> sulke nonsens <u>nie</u>$_2$.
         I   read never   not   such nonsense NEG
         'I NEVER read such nonsense'
            = SA Ek lees **nooit** sulke nonsens <u>nie</u>$_2$.

     b.* Ek lees <u>nooit</u> sulke nonsens <u>nie</u>$_2$ <u>nie</u>.

(23) a. Jy   sal   <u>NêRENS</u> nie   so   'n wonderlike mens vind <u>nie</u>$_2$.
         you will nowhere not   such a wonderful person find NEG
         'You just won't find such a wonderful person ANYWHERE'
           = SA Jy sal <u>nêrens</u> so 'n wonderlike mens vind <u>nie</u>$_2$.

     b.* Jy sal <u>nêrens</u> so 'n wonderlike mens vind <u>nie</u>$_2$ <u>nie</u>.

As it does not contribute independent negative meaning and is also omissible without resulting in either ungrammaticality or meaning-change, it is clear that the 'extra'/reinforcing negator in these examples must be *nie$_2$*.[7] As hinted above, it is therefore not the case that the second negator in Afrikaans consistently fails to play a reinforcement role.[8]

A final observation about the relative 'reinforceability' of *nie$_1$* and *nie$_2$* is that the first, but not the second, *nie* can be replaced with a more emphatic negator, both in formal (cf. (24)) and more colloquial (cf. (25-27)) registers; by contrast, the second *nie* cannot:

(24) a. Ons is <u>nie</u>$_1$ beïndruk   nie$_2$.
         us   is not impressed NEG
         'We are not impressed.'

     b. Ons is <u>geensins</u>   beïndruk   nie$_2$.
         us   is not-remotely impressed NEG
         'We are not remotely impressed.'

     c.* Ons is nie$_1$ beïndruk <u>geensins</u>.

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[7] Note that Oosthuizen (1998:76ff) analyses this reinforcing *nie* as *nie$_1$*, but does not offer specific argumentation in favour of this analysis. In view of the clear parallelisms between this 'reinforcing' *nie* and the clause-final negator and the equally evident lack of parallelisms between the 'extra' *nie* and *nie$_1$*, the analysis proposed in Biberauer (2006) and also adopted here seems straightforwardly preferable.

[8] Intriguingly, Mòcheno, the German dialect which appears to exhibit Afrikaans-like negation behaviour (cf. Note 2), also seems to permit Emphatic Double Negation structures like those illustrated for Afrikaans:

(i) i han de lang <u>neamar</u> <u>net</u> tsehen <u>net</u>$_2$.
     I have you long not-more not seen not
     'I haven't seen you for a long time.'

(25) a. Hy het <u>nie$_1$</u> geld nie$_2$.
       he   have not   money NEG
       'He doesn't have any money.'

   b. Hy het <u>niks</u> geld nie$_2$.[9]
       he   have nothing money NEG
       'He doesn't have any money.'

   c.* Hy het nie$_1$ geld <u>niks</u>.

(26) a. Hy is <u>nie$_1$</u> 'n goeie mens nie$_2$.
       he is not   a good personNEG
       'He isn't a good/nice person.'

   b. Hy is <u>g'n</u> 'n goeie mens nie$_2$.
       he is none a good personNEG
       'He is not a good person.'

   c.* Hy is nie$_1$ 'n goeie mens <u>g'n</u>.

(27) a. Hy wil <u>nie$_1$</u> luister nie$_2$.
       he will not listen NEG
       'He won't listen'

   b. Hy wil <u>g'n</u> <u>niks</u> luister nie$_2$.
       he will none nothing listen NEG
       'He won't listen at all'

   c.* Hy wil nie$_1$ luister <u>g'n</u> <u>niks</u>.

Two further pieces of evidence distinguishing the two *nie*s draw on parallels which these elements respectively do and don't show with the strong and weak elements discussed in Cardinaletti & Starke (1996): while the first negator can be co-ordinated, the second cannot, as shown in (28), and while the first negator can be stressed, the second cannot, as (29) shows:

(28) a. Ek sal <u>niks</u> en <u>niemand</u> hiermee vertrou nie$_2$.
       I   will nothing and no-one   here-with trust NEG
       'I won't trust a soul with this.'

   b.* Ek sal niks hiermee vertrou <u>nie$_2$</u> **en** <u>niemand</u>.

(29) a. Ek weet <u>NOOIT</u>/ <u>NIE$_1$</u> wat hy doen nie$_2$.
       I   know never   not what he do   NEG
       'I NEVER know what he's doing/I DON'T know what he's doing/he does.'

   b.* Ek weet nooit/nie$_1$ wat hy doen <u>NIE$_2$</u>.

Taken together, the evidence discussed here therefore points to an analysis in terms of which the two *nie*s are fundamentally very different (*contra* Molnárfi 2002, 2004).

3.1.1.2 ▣ *NIE$_1$* IS A NEG-HEAD AND *NIE$_2$* IS A (CP-RELATED) POLARITY-HEAD

Oosthuizen proposes capturing the difference between the two elements by assigning *nie$_1$* the status of a Neg-head, which is merged relatively low in the clause, while viewing *nie$_2$* as a Pol(arity)-head, which is merged at the clause-edge, above CP (cf. Laka 1990, 1994 for the proposal that PolP may surface either above or below IP, subject to parametric variation, and Biberauer 2006 for discussion of the validity of assuming a CP-related PolP for Afrikaans). I will adopt this proposal here, with minor modifications, the motivations for which are elaborated in Biberauer (2006). The modifications are as follows: where

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[9] The structure in (14b) can, of course, be further reinforced by employing an 'extra' *nie$_2$* – thus *Hy het niks nie$_2$ geld nie$_2$* – as discussed for examples (21-22).

Oosthuizen postulates a NegP just above AgrOP to host *nie₁*, I assume that there is no need to postulate a distinct NegP and that *nie₁* in fact adjoins to the lower *v*P-edge.

To see how the proposed analysis works, consider the example in (30) (~~strikethrough~~ indicates a lower copy that is not spelled out):

(30) a. Ek   kan   sien [dat   jy   <u>hoegenaamd</u> <u>nie₁</u>   verstaan   <u>nie₂</u>].
         I   can   see   that   you   totally   not   understand   NEG
         'I can see that you don't understand at all.'

b.
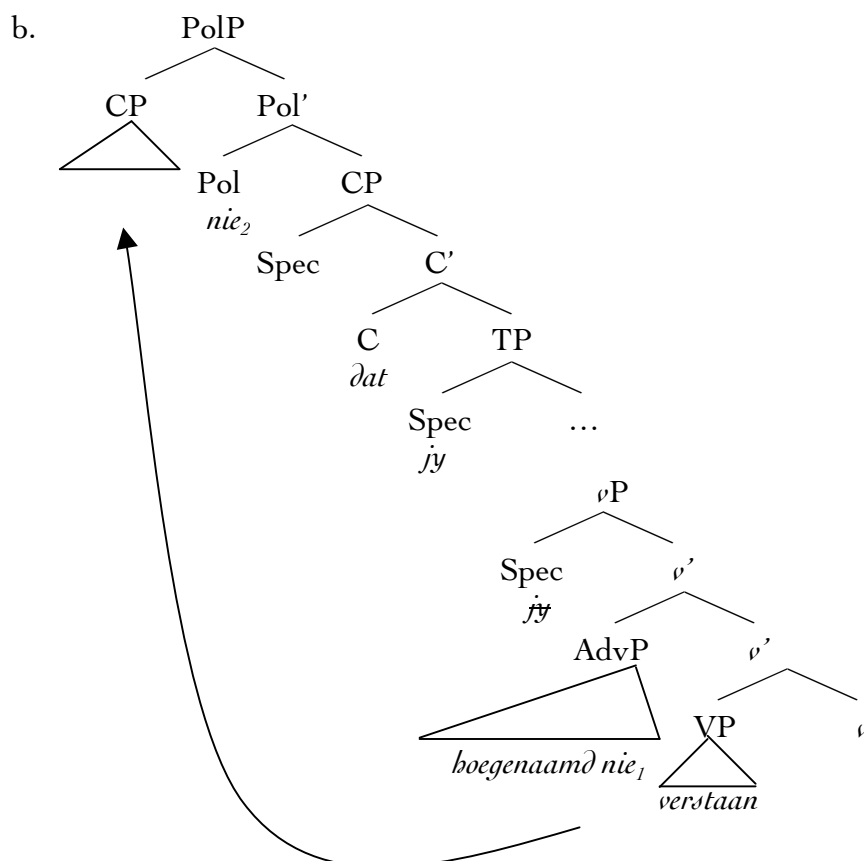
Here (30b) illustrates just the embedded structure indicated in square brackets in (30a). For expository purposes, I abstract away from various details of Afrikaans clausal structure (but see section 3.1.2 below). The noteworthy aspects of the structure are as follows:

(i)   the 'true' negator – *nie₁* modified by the intensifier *hoegenaamd* – is a low adjunct to *v*P, which I have labelled *AdvP* to reflect the fact that I view negation phrases as a species of adverbial with no special status.[10] They therefore adjoin, just like other adverbials, at specific adjunction points along the 'main spine' of the clause. Empirical evidence (discussed in more detail in Biberauer 2006) suggests that this adjunction point is low; hence the assumption that the negative adverbial is *v*P-adjoined. I will return to this point in section 3.1.2 below.

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[10] As discussed in Biberauer (2006), the evidence that has previously been adduced in favour of the idea that Afrikaans clause structure includes a NegP which specifically attracts negative elements (cf. Haegeman 1995:179, who follows Robbers 1992) turns out to be significantly more complex than usually thought. Considered alongside data that is not usually cited (cf. section 3.1.2), it seems quite clear that 'true' negators in Afrikaans do not exhibit behaviour that distinguishes them from other VP-adverbials in Afrikaans.

(ii)   *nie₂* is a polarity-head merged above CP. Following Oosthuizen, I assume that Afrikaans negated clauses are headed by a Polarity Phrase (PolP) which specifies the polarity of the clause in question as negative.[11] I adopt the Probe-Goal system of Chomsky (2000 *et seq.*) in terms of which this Pol-head bears an unvalued pol-feature ([Pol: __]) and therefore acts as a probe for valued [neg]-features in its c-command domain, establishing an Agree relationship with them. I also assume that Pol is associated with an EPP-feature (Move diacritic), which requires movement of the goal-containing category to its specifier. Although the goal in this case is arguably the negative adverbial, *hoegenaamd nie₁*, the entire CP undergoes raising to Spec-PolP, i.e. Pol's EPP-feature is satisfied by clausal pied-piping of the kind that has also been proposed for a range of other left-periphery-related domains (cf. i.a. Horvath 2005 on clause pied-piping generally; Hermon 1985, de Urbina 1990, Richards 1997, Bhatt 1999 and Simpson & Bhattacharya 2000, 2003 on clausal pied-piping in *wh*-interrogative contexts; Hallman 2004 on V2 and V-final orders in Germanic; and Holmberg 2001, 2005, Munaro & Poletto 2004 on clause-final clause-types in Veneto, and also Kandybowicz 2006 on polarity-related clausal pied-piping in Nupe, which bears an uncanny resemblance to that proposed for Afrikaans here).[12]

This proposal would seem to have numerous advantages (cf. Biberauer in prep.b for further discussion). Firstly, the proposed analysis allows Afrikaans to be viewed as a language whose negation/polarity behaviour emerges as rather similar to that which has been identified in other natural languages (cf. Laka 1990, 1994, Holmberg 2001, 2005, Ouali 2003, 2005, 2006, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2003, Munaro & Poletto 2004, Kandybowicz 2006, Vicente 2006), always a desirable result in the generative context. Secondly, the proposed analysis also seems to make sense when viewed from the perspective of the specific diachronic circumstances that led to the rise of this structure in Afrikaans: as argued in Biberauer (2006), there seem to be very good reasons for viewing *nie₂* as an element that originally served primarily a discourse function (cf. Roberge 2000

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[11] I leave aside here the very interesting question of the precise relationship between PolP and CP, but see Biberauer (in prep.a) for consideration of the idea that Pol is in fact one of the hierarchically organised features associated with the C phase-head, which may be independently realised as a distinct functional projection whenever the Pol-head is valued negative.

Whether Pol projects as a separate projection in positive polarity contexts is also an interesting question: although Afrikaans does not lexically encode a positive polarity marker (I leave aside here 'true' positive polarity markers like *wel* (roughly 'in fact'), which appear to be the positive counterpart of the 'true' negators), there does appear to be at least one structure which serves a specifically positive polarity-affirming function: predicate doubling of the kind illustrated in (i):

(i)   <u>Luister</u>   sal   hy   <u>luister</u>!
      listen   *shall*   *he*   *listen*
      'He will jolly well listen.'

Structures like (i) are emphatically positive and are incompatible with negation as illustrated in (ii):

(ii)   *<u>Luister</u> sal hy nie₁ luister nie₂.

Interestingly, numerous unrelated languages appear to feature emphatically positive structures involving verb-doubling of the kind illustrated in (i) – cf. i.a. Koopman (1984) on Vata, Kandybowicz (2006) on Nupe, Martins (forthcoming) on European Portuguese, Petronio (1993) on American Sign Language (ASL) and Quadros (1999) on Brazilian Sign Language (LSB). To the best of my knowledge, these structures are always incompatible with the overt expression of negation and, if Kandybowicz's appealing (2006) analysis of the Nupe verb-doubling structure is correct, the reason for this may well be that verb-doubling structures require (a positively specified) Pol to be projected separately in positive polarity contexts too. I leave the details of this question to future research.

[12] Clearly, CP-raising to Spec-PolP involves Comp-to-Spec raising, which has been argued in various place to be barred. See Biberauer & Richards (2006: Note 9) for references and counter-arguments.

for detailed discussion of *nie₂*'s origins as a discourse-level element, specifically one expressing 'resumptive negation'). Focusing more specifically on individual aspects of the structure of Afrikaans negation, the proposed analysis also facilitates a simple explanation of *nie₂*'s lack of modifiability and 'emphaticization': since the head which is ultimately spelled out as *nie₂* is an EPP-bearing probe, its specifier needs to be filled by the goal-bearing XP it attracts, not by a non-selected modifying element. Similarly, *nie₂*'s unstressability arguably also falls out from the fact that *nie₂* will never be located in a position to which phrasal, much less sentential stress can be assigned: it will never be the most deeply embedded element (cf. Cinque 1993, Zubizaretta 1998) nor will it ever be at the relevant 'edge' of edge-alignment-based accounts of stress assignment (cf. Selkirk 1995, Truckenbrodt 1995 and see also below) nor can it ever be at the left edge of a 'spellee' (i.e. the constituent sent to Spellout upon completion of a phase) in theories that assume this to be the crucial stress-determining configuration (cf. Kahnemuyipour 2005). Finally, two less frequently mentioned, but nevertheless otherwise puzzling facts about *nie₂*'s distribution fall out straightforwardly if we view this element as a polarity marker: firstly, the fact that it is not, contra the quite widespread view that it constitutes a scope-marking element, consistently the element signalling scope-marking facts. Consider (30) in this connection:

(31) a. Hy   sê   <u>nie₁</u>   dat   hy kom   <u>nie₂</u>.
        he   *say*   *not*   *that*   *he   come*   *NEG*
        'He isn't saying that he is coming.'

    b. Hy   sê   dat   hy <u>nie₁</u>   kom   <u>nie₂</u>.
        he   *say*   *that*   *he   not*   *come*   *NEG*
        'He says that he isn't coming.'

In (31), *nie₂* consistently surfaces clause-finally, with *nie₁* appearing to determine the scope of negation. On the polarity view of *nie₂*'s function, this state of affairs emerges as unsurprising (as do the cases in which *nie₂* **does** appear to serve as a scope-marker – cf. Biberauer 2006 for further discussion). The second otherwise puzzling aspect of *nie₂*'s distribution (originally noted by Oosthuizen 1998:79) that receives an explanation under the analysis outlined here is that this element is, in colloquial usage, permitted to surface in structures lacking a negator. Consider (32) in this connection:

(32) a. Ek   kan   my   nouliks/skaars   inhou   <u>nie₂</u>.
        I   *can*   *me*   *barely*   *in-hold*   *NEG*
        'I can barely contain myself', i.e. 'I'm very excited.'

    b. Ek   weier om   saam   te kom   <u>nie₂</u>.
        I   *refuse C-₁ₙ𝒻 together*   *to   come*   *NEG*
        'I refuse to come along.'

If *nie₂* were simply a scope-marking negation element, dependent on a 'true' negator, the data in (31) would be mysterious. On the view that *nie₂* is in fact a polarity element, this mystery, however, disappears: investigation of structures which permit the realisation of *nie₂* in the absence of a 'true' negator reveals that the element they necessarily feature is one belonging to the class of (non)veridical operators, i.e. the class that Giannakidou (1999 *et seq.*) identifies as necessary to license a polarity item. *Nie₂* is therefore possible in (31a) thanks to the presence of the approximative adverb, *nouliks*, (cf. Horn 2002 for recent discussion) while factive *weier* in (31b) is a negative one-way implicative (cf. Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971 and also Nairn, Condoravdi & Karttunen 2006 for recent discussion). That these elements are indeed the crucial licensers as far as *nie₂* is concerned is clearly shown by the following minimally different structures:

(33) a. Ek   kan   my (maklik) inhou (*<u>nie₂</u>).
      I   can   me   easily   in-hold   NEG
      'I can contain myself.'

    b. Ek   onderneem om   saam   te kom (* <u>nie₂</u>).
      I   under-take C-ₗₙբ together to come   NEG
      'I undertake to come along.'

In sum, then, a wide range of data appear to corroborate the analysis of *nie₁* and *nie₂* proposed here.

One specifically *nie₂*-related question that we have not addressed so far, but that undoubtedly deserves special attention in view of the availability of a superficially simpler analysis, relates to the analysis of *nie₂* as the head of a **head-initial** PolP in the CP-domain. As argued above, there appears to be strong evidence in favour of the view that PolP in Afrikaans is CP-related; what has not been shown, however, is that this PolP needs to be head-initial – can it not simply be head-final, thereby precluding the need for clausal pied-piping? Leaving aside the loss of the parallels with other 'clausal pied-piping' languages mentioned above, there are at least two considerations that suggest that the answer is no. The first of these is primarily theoretical. CP is clearly head-initial in Afrikaans (and Germanic generally) – cf. the various examples in this paper of clauses featuring an overt complementiser. If *nie₂* is, as argued above, located within the head-initial CP-domain, it is not obvious how PolP could be head-final: to my knowledge, there is no language in which the headedness of PolP fails to correspond with the headedness of the functional domain in which it is located; furthermore, within the context of what might be thought of as 'activation'-based views of 'non-core' functional categories (i.e. functional categories in the clausal domain other than *v*, T and C)[13], it is hard to see how heads associated with a given functional projection can vary in headedness (cf. Biberauer in prep.a for further discussion).[14] The second relevant consideration, an empirical one, would seem to argue even more strongly in favour of the rejection of a head-final PolP: as noted by Oosthuizen (1998) and illustrated in (33) below, it is possible for elements to 'leak' past *nie₂*:

(34) a. Sy het tydens die vergadering niks   gesê nie₂.
      she have during the   meeting   nothing said not
      'She said nothing during the meeting.'

    b. Sy het niks   gesê nie₂ <u>tydens</u> <u>die</u> <u>vergadering</u>.
      she has nothing said NEG during the   meeting
      'She said nothing during the meeting.'

On the view that PolP is both CP-related and head-final, structures like the (b)-structures in (33) should not be possible as *nie₂* should always surface clause-finally. As noted in Biberauer (2006), a restricted (and poorly understood) range of structures of this type is,

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[13] I used the label ''activation-based views' here to refer to the kind of approach to functional categories repeatedly hinted at by Chomsky in much of his recent work (cf. Chomsky 2000 *et seq.*). In terms of this view, the core functional categories (CFCs) may be thought of as elements defining the 'clausal skeleton' (Chomsky 2005:9) while themselves being cover terms for 'richer systems'' (cf. Chomsky 2000:102, 2001:43, note 8 and 2005:9). Specifically, Chomsky (2005:18) proposes that "the more elaborate structures revealed by the cartographic inquiries are based on linearization of features in [phase] labels". If something along these lines is correct, it is clear that mixed headedness in categories associated with a single CFC will require the postulation of more complex linearisation system than uniform headedness. If Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2006) are correct, this should not be possible. See the main text and also Note 24 on the distinction drawn in this paper between 'syntactic headedness' and 'PF headedness'.

[14] Circumpositional structures of the kind discussed in section 2.2 might appear to constitute an exception to this generalization, but see section 3.2.1 and again for Note 24 for argumentation that this is only superficially the case.

however, attested in spoken Afrikaans. Ignoring the evidence pointing to the CP-relatedness of Afrikaans PolP highlighted above and postulating – as, for example, Bell (2004a,b) has done – that PolP is in fact a clause-internal projection located lower down in the clausal architecture also will not 'rescue' the head-final view on *nie₂*: the fact that 'low' adverbials like the locative PP in (33b) may surface post-*nie₂* indicates very clearly that even a maximally lowly adjoined head-final PolP will not be able to account for the 'leaking' data (and, clearly, such an analysis would also pose rather serious problems for the manner in which *nie₂* is interpreted: it is very evidently not always associated with VP). By contrast, a head-initial, clausal pied-piping proposal of the kind advocated here has open to it the possibility that certain elements may be 'stranded', with the result that they may surface in post-*nie₂* position (cf. Biberauer 2006 for further discussion). In sum, therefore, the proposal that *nie₂* may in fact head a head-final PolP seems to face numerous insurmountable problems. We will therefore proceed on the assumptions outlined in this section.

Let us now consider how these enable us to account for the doubling and omission structures that surface in negation contexts.

3.1.2 □ ACCOUNTING FOR THE ALTERNATION OF DOUBLING AND OMISSION STRUCTURES

The starting point for our analysis is that also assumed by den Besten (1986), Robbers (1992) and Bell (2004a,b), namely that *nie₂* is always present in every negation structure. In other words, Afrikaans is indeed a strict negative concord language. If this is the case, the fact that it is not the case that every Afrikaans sentence contains two negation elements has to be understood as the consequence of some kind of deletion operation. Clearly, then, the question is what kind of operation this is?

Robbers (1992) is sometimes incorrectly cited as having proposed that a so-called Doubly Filled NegP Filter along the lines given in (34) is responsible for the distribution of Afrikaans negation elements (where in fact, (34) represents an attempt to capture the distribution of Italian *non*):

(35) DOUBLY FILLED NEGP FILTER
 *[$_{NegP}$ n-word [$_{Neg}$ n-marker] [T ....]]

According to (34), structures with two adjacent negators should not be possible, a state of affairs which clearly does not hold in Afrikaans as i.a. the possibility of emphatic negation structures such as those illustrated in (21-22) above and also structures such as those in (35) clearly show (semantics aside, the stressability difference between the *nie*s in the (a) and (b) examples clearly show that (b) features 'true' negator *nie₁*, while (a) contains polarity-marking *nie₂*):

(36) a. Ek ken <u>niemand</u> <u>nie₂</u>/*NIE₂.
  I know no-one NEG
  'I don't know anyone'
 b. Ek ken <u>niemand</u> <u>nie₁/NIE₁</u>.
  I know no-one not
  'There is no-one I don't know.'

The Doubly Filled Neg Filter in (35) cannot therefore account for the facts at issue here as negators may surface adjacent to one another in Afrikaans. According to den Besten (1986:202), the relevant filter in fact takes the form given in (37):

(37) * *nie nie*

In terms of (37), it is therefore specifically two *nie*s that cannot surface adjacent to one another. Closer investigation, against the background of what we have established in sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2 about the nature of Afrikaans's two *nie*s reveals that *nie*$_2$ is the 'missing' *nie* in each case: consider, for example, the fact that the absence of the relevant *nie* does not affect the negative semantics of the resulting structure and also the fact that the *nie* that is present can be strengthened in the various ways discussed in section 3.1.1.1. This is illustrated for (8a), repeated here as (38):

(38) a. Ek   verstaan   NIE.
          I   understand   not
          'I DON'T understand.'
      b. Ek   verstaan   hoegenaamd   nie.
          I   understand   totally   not
          'I don't remotely understand.'
      c. Ek   verstaan   geensinsnie$_2$/*NIE$_2$.
          I   understand   no-sense NEG
          'I don't remotely understand.'

As shown above, it is possible to stress the single *nie* in (8a) (cf. (38a)), it is possible to modify it (cf. (38b)) and it is also possible to replace this *nie* with a stronger negative (cf. *geensins* in (38c)). That *nie*$_1$ has in fact been replaced by *geensins* in this last example and that the *nie* that surfaces in this structure is *nie*$_2$ is clearly shown by the fact that (a) it cannot be stressed and (b) it can, colloquially, be omitted without resulting in an ungrammatical or non-negative sentence; the resulting structure will simply be viewed as 'missing something' in the same manner as *nie*$_2$-lacking ones discussed in section 3.1.1.1 above ((17)).[15]
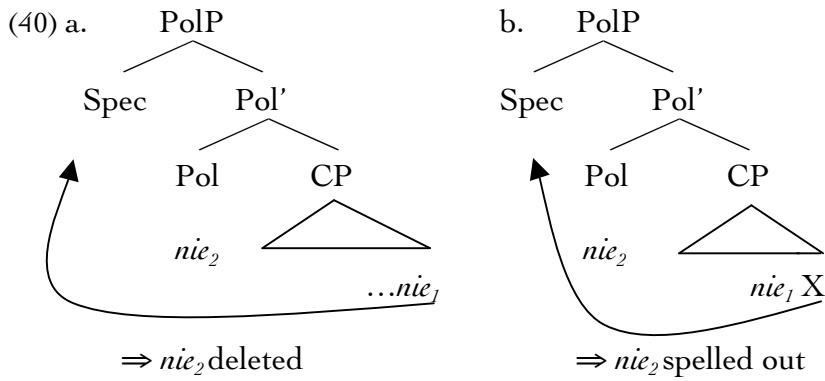
Having established that it is in fact *nie*$_2$ which is missing in omission structures, let us attempt to refine den Besten's filter proposal so that we can test whether it will enable us to account for the doubling and omission structures in Afrikaans. Consider the haplology mechanism in (39):[16]

(39) AFRIKAANS SYNTACTIC HAPLOLOGY MECHANISM (Take 1)
      Nie$_2$ is subject to PF deletion whenever it is sent to Spellout in a position where it will end up (following copy deletion) being the element which is spelled out immediately adjacent to *nie*$_1$
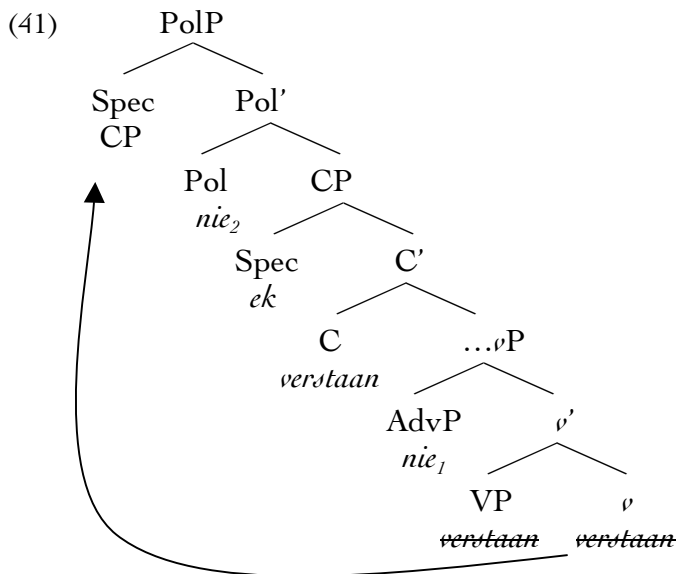   i.e. … *nie*$_1$ *nie*$_2$ → *nie*$_1$ ~~*nie*$_2$~~

What (39) predicts is that *nie*$_2$ will be deleted wherever raising to Spec-PolP (under the influence of Pol's EPP-feature) involves raising an XP of which the rightmost ultimately spelled-out element is *nie*$_1$; conversely, *nie*$_2$ will be spelled out wherever the rightmost ultimately spelled-out element is something other than *nie*$_1$. This is schematically illustrated in (40):

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[15] This example, then, shows that the reinforcing function that *nie*$_2$ sometimes plays (cf. (21-22) above) is limited to contexts in which it genuinely surfaces as an 'extra' element over and above the 'true' negator and its associated *nie*$_2$: in (36c), this is clearly not the case as the structure features only a single *nie*. It should also be noted that the fact that native-speakers judge structures like (36c) to be 'missing something' in just the way they do when non-natives omit final *nie*$_2$ (cf. the examples in (17)) further underlines the correctness of viewing Afrikaans as a strict negative concord language which employs a deletion-under-adjacency filter of roughly the kind sketched out by den Besten: as soon as *nie*$_1$ is replaced by a phonetically distinct 'true' negator which would not be subject to the haplological filter (*geensins* in this case), *nie*$_2$ surfaces, as one would have expected in a strict negative concord language.

[16] Cf. Neeleman & van de Koot (2005) for overview discussion of syntactic haplology and its relation to the Obligatory Contour Principle/OCP Effects that have frequently been noted in phonology.

(40) a.   PolP

```
(40) a.        PolP
            /        \
         Spec        Pol'
                    /     \
                 Pol       CP
                 nie₂     /\
                       …nie₁
         ⇒ nie₂ deleted
```

```
     b.        PolP
            /        \
         Spec        Pol'
                    /     \
                 Pol       CP
                 nie₂     /\
                       nie₁ X
         ⇒ nie₂ spelled out
```

Let us investigate how this proposal fares in accounting for the doubling and omission structures presented thus far. Consider, firstly, a structure in which *nie₂* systematically fails to surface, unmodified intransitive verb-featuring (8a)/(38), just discussed. (39) predicts that *nie₂* will undergo OCP-style deletion whenever it ends up being spelled out adjacent to *nie₁* (only the first of two phonologically identical elements survives OCP-induced deletion; cf. Leben 1973). Inspection of the (partial) structure in (40) reveals that this is indeed the configuration underlying (8a)/(38) (~~strikethrough~~ once again indicates copy-material that is suppressed under Chain Reduction (see below). Obviously, the CP-complement of *nie₂* is also deleted as the CP is spelled out in its moved position; for presentational reasons, ~~strikethrough~~ has, however, not been employed in this case.):

```
(41)           PolP
            /        \
        Spec          Pol'
        CP          /      \
                 Pol        CP
                 nie₂      /    \
                        Spec     C'
                        ek      /   \
                              C      …vP
                           verstaan  /   \
                                  AdvP    v'
                                  nie₁   /  \
                                      VP     v
                                   verstaan  verstaan
```

On standard assumptions about the structure of West Germanic V2 clauses (cf. den Besten 1977/1983) which are also well motivated for Afrikaans (cf. Biberauer 2003), *verstaan* undergoes raising to C. At PF, it will therefore be spelled out in this position, with lower copies (in T, *v*, and V) being suppressed/deleted in accordance with some chain reduction mechanism (cf. Nunes 2004 on the operation Chain Reduction). Crucially, supression of the copy of *verstaan* in V means that the rightmost overtly realised element in the CP which underwent raising to Spec-PolP will be *nie₁*, i.e. it creates the environment in which (39) will apply. The non-occurrence of *nie₂* in structures like (8a)/(38) is therefore accounted for.

Contrast the embedded and compound-tense counterparts of (8a)/(38) given in (42):

(42) a. … dat ek <u>nie</u>$_1$ verstaan   <u>nie</u>$_2$.   (= (8a')above)
         that I   not   understand NEG
         '… that I don't understand.'

   b.   Ek   het   <u>nie</u>$_1$ verstaan   <u>nie</u>$_2$.   (= (8b) above)
        I   have not   understood NEG
        'I didn't understand.'

In both of these cases, both *nie*s are overtly realised. This follows straightforwardly from (39) if we take into account the fact that both of these structures feature a verb (*verstaan*) which is standardly thought to remain in V (cf. Vikner 2005 for recent convincing argumentation that West Germanic verbs do not undergo raising in non-V2 contexts): *verstaan* is therefore the rightmost ultimately spelled-out element in the CP that raises to Spec-PolP, with the result that *nie$_1$* and *nie$_2$* do not end up in the OCP configuration, allowing both to survive. More generally, (39) predicts that all structures in which the lexical verb has remained *in situ* – thus, all non-V2 embedded clauses and compound-tense structures – will consistently feature two negators. This prediction is correct (cf. also (6b), (30), (34a) and see Donaldson 1993 for an overview of doubling structures in Afrikaans).

Furthermore, (39) also predicts that structures in which the VP contains overtly realised material will feature two negators. We would therefore expect transitive structures to contain two *nie*s. Investigation of the examples in (7) and (9a) above, however, reveals that this is not always the case: only one *nie* is realised in structures featuring pronominal objects (cf. (9a)) and the same is true for those featuring full DPs which receive some kind of 'old information' interpretation (cf. (3) and (7b)). Significantly, as noted above, these very structures are the ones typically analysed as involving either defocusing scrambling movement out of the VP (cf. i.a. Diesing 1992) or base-generation above VP-adverbials (cf. i.a. Neeleman & Weerman 1999). Regardless of which of these analyses is correct, it is clear that they both entail the assumption that 'old information' transitives differ from their 'new information' counterparts in respect of the positioning of the object: whereas 'new information'objects are VP-internal, their 'old information' counterparts are VP-external. That *nie$_2$* should be present in the former, but not the latter case therefore falls out straightforwardly from (39): it is only in the 'new information' case that the object will intervene between *nie$_1$* and *nie$_2$*, thereby allowing both to be pronounced.[17]

So-called *VP-adverbs* represent another type of material that (39) leads us to expect to play a role in determining the presence vs. absence of *nie$_2$* in simple-tense intransitive matrix clauses (non-V2 embedded and compound-tense clauses always features two *nie*s for the reasons given above and non-intransitives will feature two *nie*s wherever the VP contains

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[17] Further evidence in favour of the correctness of the 'information'-oriented analysis presented here would seem to come from non-standard spoken Afrikaans in which structures like the following are permissible:
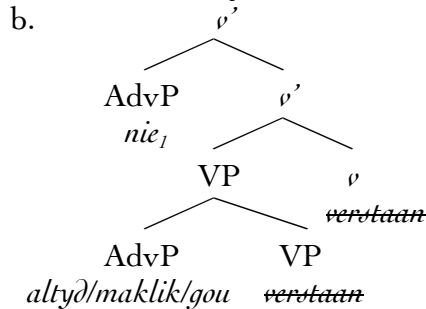
(i)   Ek verstaan   <u>nie</u>$_1$ (* vir)   hom/ haar   <u>nie</u>$_2$.   (= SA Ek verstaan hom/haar <u>nie</u>$_1$)
      I understand not   for   him/ her   NEG
      'I don't understand him.'

As shown above, a pronominal object may appear in a structure containing two *nie*s iff it is introduced by *vir*, i.e. the element that has been convincingly argued to function as a compensatory 'rheme-marker" in contexts where an object has failed to undergo 'old information'-driven scrambling – cf. the ungrammaticality of *vir* in (ii) where the pronoun **has** undergone the customary defocusing movement (and see Molnárfi 1999 for more detailed discussion of *vir*'s 'rheme-marking' status):

(ii) Ek verstaan   (* vir)   hom   <u>nie</u>$_1$.
      I understand   for   him   not
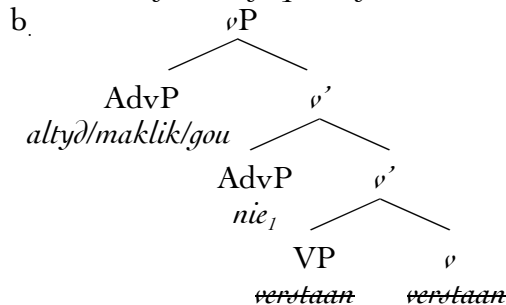   'I don't understand him.'

material over and above *nie₁*): if it is indeed the case that 'true' negators are adjoined at the lower *v*P-edge, as suggested above, we would expect other VP-adverbs to be able to intervene between *nie₁* and *nie₂*, thereby ensuring that both *nie*s are produced. This is indeed the case, as illustrated in (41):

(43) a. Ek   verstaan   <u>nie</u>₁ altyd/   maklik/ gou   <u>nie</u>₂.
      I   understand not   always/ easily/ quickly NEG
      'I don't always understand/I don't always understand easily/quickly.'

   b.

```
                    v'
                  /    \
             AdvP        v'
             nie₁       /  \
                      VP      v
                    /   \   verstaan
                AdvP     VP
          altyd/maklik/gou  verstaan
```

As the relative ordering of the adverbials in (43a) indicates, it is possible for VP-adverbs to follow *nie₁*. If we assume the usual adjunction site for these adverbs to be the edge of VP, it becomes possible to account for the presence of two *nie*s in the structures concerned: under those circumstances, these VP-adverbs will be spelled out to the right of *nie₁*, with the consequence that (39) cannot apply. Significantly, however, VP-adverbs do not **always** surface in structures featuring two *nie*s – cf. (44):

(44) a. Ek   verstaan   altyd/   maklik/ gou   <u>nie</u>₁.
      I   understand always/ easily/ quickly not
      'I always/easily/quickly don't understand.'

   b.

```
                    vP
                  /    \
             AdvP        v'
        altyd/maklik/gou  /  \
                      AdvP      v'
                      nie₁     /  \
                            VP      v
                          verstaan  verstaan
```

As (44) shows, VP-adverbials may also **precede** *nie₁*. Crucially, however, the relative scope relations between the negator and the adverbs are reversed in this case. I take this as evidence that 'true' negators and VP-adverbs belong to the same general adverb domain, within which they may adjoin freely (*contra* Cinque 1999).[18] If *nie₁* is indeed merged 'low', one would expect it (a) consistently to **follow** 'higher' adverbs, both those usually assumed to be associated with the TP-domain and those generally thought of as CP-related and (b) to surface in isolation in contexts where 'higher' adverbs surface in the absence of overtly realised VP-internal material. These expectations are borne out, as illustrated in (45):

(45) a. Ek   verstaan   eerlikwaar/waarskynlik/ moontlik   <u>nie</u>₁.
      I   understand honestly/ probably/   possibly   not
      'I honestly/probably/possibly don't understand.'

   b.* Ek verstaan <u>nie</u>₁ eerlikwaar/waarskynlik/moontlik <u>nie</u>₂.

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[18] Note that it may also be the case that the adverbs traditionally labelled *VP-adverbs* are in fact low **vP-adverbs** (cf. i.a. Adger & Tsoulas 2000 and Göbbel 2005) and that these adverbs and *nie₁* therefore compete for the lowest adjunction site within *v*P. The details of this question remain to be investigated.

Taken together, the adverb data therefore support the proposal that *nie$_2$*-deletion is conditioned by an 'exposed' left-edge of VP, i.e. one where *nie$_1$* ends up being the rightmost spelled-out element.

Fronting structures represent a further context in which *nie$_1$* may be 'exposed' in this manner. Consider (46-47) in this connection:

(46) a. Hy lees <u>nie$_1$</u> die *Telegraph* <u>nie$_2$</u>.
　　　 he　read　not　the　Telegraph　*NEG*
　　　 'He doesn't read the *Telegraph*.'

　　 b. Die *Telegraph* lees hy <u>nie$_1$</u>.
　　　 the　Telegraph　*read　he　not*
　　　 'The *Telegraph*, he doesn't read.'

(47) a. Wie lees <u>nie$_1$</u> die *Telegraph* <u>nie$_2$</u>?
　　　 who　read　not　the　Telegraph　*NEG*
　　　 'Who doesn't read the *Telegraph*?'

　　 b. Wat lees Jan <u>nie$_1$</u>?
　　　 what　read　John　not
　　　 'What doesn't John read?'

　　 c. Waarom verstaan jy <u>nie$_1$</u>?
　　　 why　　understand　you　not
　　　 'Why don't you understand?'

In (46a), we see the now familiar 'new information' structure featuring a VP-internal object, which therefore precludes the application of (39). By contrast, the object-fronting structure in (46b) behaves exactly like the scrambling structure, with movement of the object out of the VP resulting in *nie$_1$* being 'exposed' at the right edge of the constituent (CP) which raises to Spec-PolP; *nie$_2$* is therefore deleted. In (47a), we see that fronting of a *wh*-subject does not result in *nie$_2$*-deletion when VP-internal material is present, as expected. By contrast, fronting of a *wh*-element that would otherwise have constituted the only material internal to VP **does** trigger *nie$_2$*-deletion, once again as expected.[19] In sum, then, (39) would seem to be able to account for the doubling and omission patterns presented in section 2.1 in which only a single semantic negation is involved. This leaves the multiple negation structures in (10) to be accounted for.

_____

[19] Interestingly, the *nie*-placement diagnostics that we are considering in this section suggest that so-called *wh*-in situ structures in Afrikaans do not necessarily involve *in situ wh*-elements. Consider the non-fronted counterparts of (45b,c):

(i)　Jan lees WAT <u>nie$_1$</u>?!
　　John　read　what　not
　　'John doesn't read WHAT?!"

　? 　Jan lees <u>nie$_1$</u> WAT <u>nie$_2$</u>?!

(ii)　Jy verstaan WAAROM <u>nie$_1$</u>?
　　you understand why　　not
　　'You don't understand WHY?!"

　*　Jy verstaan <u>nie$_1$</u> WAAROM <u>nie$_2$</u>?!

As indicated above, the typical 'echo question' interpretation usually associated with *wh*-in situ structures falls out from single-*nie*-containing structures in Afrikaans; structures with two *nie*s (i.e. those in which the *wh*-element has remained *in situ* within VP) are either ungrammatical as in (ii) or, as in (i), not the most natural 'echo question' in typical 'echo' contexts, i.e. those in which a statement including the missing piece of information has preceded the 'echo' question (this latter fact seems to be replicated in German). I leave the details surrounding the structure of Afrikaans 'echo' questions and what they may signal about 'echo' questions more generally for further research.

The structures in (10) are repeated here as (48):

(48) a. Ek   weet <u>nie</u>   wat hy doen <u>nie</u>.
       I   know not   what he do   not
       'I don't know what he's doing.'
  a'. … dat ek <u>nie</u> weet wat hy doen <u>nie</u>.
  b. Ek weet <u>nie</u> wat hy <u>nie</u> doen <u>nie</u>.
       I   know not what he not do   not
       'I don't know what he doesn't do/isn't doing.'
  b'. … dat ek <u>nie</u> weet wat hy <u>nie</u> doen <u>nie</u>.

Recall that multiple negation-containing structures differ from their single negation-containing counterparts in lacking the expected number of *nie*s: thus (48b) features only 3 *nie*s rather than the expected 4. Furthermore, this discrepancy is not 'remedied' in embedded contexts as was consistently shown to be the case in single negation-containing structures – contrast (48b') with the '-examples in (7) and (8), for example. The question is why this should be?

Note, firstly, that clausal complements obligatorily occur in doubling structures (cf. 48a/a'). This indicates that these complements cannot have raised from their base-position as is sometimes assumed: if raising had occurred, nie_1 would have been 'exposed' at the edge of VP in (48a), with the result that it would have been spelled out adjacent to nie_2, thereby creating the deletion environment specified in (39).[20] With this much in place, we can begin to understand why multiple negation structures like (48b/b') only contain three *nie*s: in this case, we are in fact dealing with two PolPs as schematised in (49):

(49) [$_{PolP}$ [$_{CP}$ *Ek weet nie$_1$* [$_{PolP}$ [$_{CP}$ *wat hy nie$_1$ doen*] *nie$_2$*] *nie$_2$*]

As shown in (49), the verb in multiple negation structures like (48b/b') takes a PolP-complement which is structured in the usual way, i.e. it consists of a CP which has undergone movement to Spec-PolP under the influence of Pol's EPP-feature. The matrix clause is, however, also a PolP, with the consequence that the entire matrix CP, including the PolP-complement selected by the matrix verb, undergoes raising to the specifier of matrix PolP. This, then, creates a scenario in which two *nie*s are ultimately spelled out adjacent to one another. (39) therefore applies, with the result that the second of these *nie*s – matrix nie_2 – is deleted. To sum up, then, (39), in combination with independently motivated assumptions about the 'West Germanic' nature of Afrikaans clause structure would appear to make the correct predictions vis-à-vis the presence vs. absence of *nie*-doubling in all of the structures considered so far.

The question that now arises is whether (39) can in fact account for all doubling and omission phenomena in Afrikaans. As examples like (50) show, this is not the case.

(50) a. Hy   kom <u>nie</u>$_1$.
       he   come not
       'He isn't coming.'
  b. Hy   kom <u>nie</u>$_1$ (*<u>nie</u>$_2$).
       he   come not   NEG
  c. Hy   kom <u>NIE</u>$_1$ <u>nie</u>$_1$.
       he   come not   not
       'He isn't not coming', i.e. He is coming

---

[20] I leave aside for future research the very interesting question of the extent to which *nie*-placement may enable us to adjudicate between different theoretical approaches to the analysis of Afrikaans clause-structure, e.g. traditional head-final analyses vs. various species of consistently head-initial 'Kaynean' analysis.

(50c) reveals that it is not impossible for two *nie*s to surface adjacent to one another: two *nie*s can co-occur if they are both 'true' negators; it is just *nie₁* and *nie₂* which cannot be adjacent. At first sight, this might seem to follow straightforwardly from (39), which states that <u>nie₂</u> is deleted whenever *nie₁* is spelled out adjacent to it. What needs to be remembered, though, is that (39) applies at the stage where the feature-bundles operated on by Narrow Syntax have been converted into phonological form, i.e. OCP-style deletion takes place **after** the **Vocabulary Insertion** stage assumed by Distributed Morphologists (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993 *et seq.*). At the stage at which (39) applies, it will therefore no longer be possible to distinguish *nie₁* and *nie₂* on the basis of their distinct featural make-up as they will simply be lexical items with identical segmental characteristics. How, then, can PF determine when adjacent *nie*s are admissible and when they are not?

One possibility suggested by consideration of the examples in (50) might be that stress differences provide the crucial distinguishing factor: the adjacent *nie₁*s in (50c) are evidently non-identical in stress profile, whereas the proscribed *nie₁ – nie₂* structure in (50b) arguably features two *nie*s that are indistinguishable on stress or other grounds. If (39) takes place following sentence-level stress assignment (i.e. relatively late in the PF process; see below), we might be able to account for the discrepancy in (50). That this is not the crucial consideration is, however, clearly shown by two independent empirical facts. Firstly, stressing *nie₁* in (50b) (i.e. **Hy kom NIE₁ nie₂*) does not result in a grammatical structure; it simply results in a string which must be interpreted like (50c), i.e. as one featuring two 'real' negators. Secondly, structures such as those in (51) also clearly show that adjacent *nie*s are permitted even where stress does not serve a distinguishing function:

(51) a.   Ek   wil   mense   wat   <u>nie₁</u>   omgee   <u>nie₂</u>   <u>nie₁</u>   sien   <u>nie₂</u>.[21]
         I   want   people   who   not   care   NEG   not   see   NEG
         'I don't want to see people who don't care.'

      b.   Ek   sien   <u>nie₁</u>   die   tweede '<u>nie₁</u>'   <u>nie₂</u>.
         I   see   not   the   second   nie   NEG
         'I don't see the second *nie*.'

In (51a), we see a *nie₂–nie₁* sequence being spelled out despite the absence of a stress difference, while (51b) shows that the reverse, i.e. the ordering proscribed by (39), is also possible. Clearly, therefore, (39) will need to be refined in order to capture the empirical facts. Specifically, it will need to be refined in such a way that PF will be able to 'see' the difference between *nie*s requiring deletion and those which must survive. What the discussion above has shown is that the deleted *nie* is always *nie₂* (recall that 'missing' *nie*s do not result in the loss of negated meaning). What we therefore need to understand is how PF can identify a *nie₂* requiring deletion, without actually being able to distinguish *nie₁* and *nie₂* on the basis of their distinctive featural make-up (at the featural stage, these elements are, of course, not distinct, as argued in section 3.1.1.2 above).

Inspection of circumstances under which identical material **is** able to surface in adjacent positions is helpful in this regard.[22] Consider (52) which illustrates relevant examples:

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[21] Here the second *nie₁* may be stressed, but it need not be.

[22] I leave aside here reduplication, which is famously quite productively attested in Afrikaans (cf. Botha 1988/2006). The way (37) is stated, it is clear that it applies **after** Vocabulary Insertion and therefore cannot 'look inside' the structure of individual lexical items. As such, reduplicated lexical items automatically fall beyond the scope of this mechanism.

(52) a. Die rede   dat hy weg <u>is</u>, <u>is</u> dat   hy moeg was.
    the   reason   that he away is is that   he tired   was
    'The reason that he's away is that he was tired.'[23]

   b. Dat ek dit al   gedoen <u>het</u>, <u>het</u> hom verstom.
    that I it already done   have have him   amaze
    'That I've already done it amazed him.'

   c. Die <u>by</u>   <u>by</u>   die   blom is yslik.
    the   bee   by/at the   flower is huge
    'The bee next to the flower is huge.'

As (52a,b) show particularly clearly, identical elements are allowed to surface adjacent to one another when they are not part of the same intonational phrase. The same is true for (52c), although this is less obviously the case. What examples of this kind suggest, therefore, is that the structural configuration in which OCP-style deletion takes place more generally seems to be subject to (at least) two conditions:

(a) that the two phonologically identical elements (two identical prosodic words/ω) be linearly adjacent following Vocabulary Insertion; and

(b) that these elements be located within the same phonological phrase (φ)

Let us investigate whether these conditions also apply to Afrikaans negation.

If clause (b) above is also relevant to doubling and omission in the negation domain, (39) will need to be reformulated along the lines of (53):

(53) AFRIKAANS SYNTACTIC HAPLOLOGY MECHANISM (Take II)
   Nie₂ is subject to PF deletion whenever it is sent to Spellout in a position where it will (a) end up (following copy deletion) being the element which is spelled out immediately adjacent to *nie₁* and (b) in the same prosodic phrase (φ) as *nie₁*.
   i.e. [… *nie₁ nie₂*]   *nie₁* ~~*nie₂*~~

In order to determine whether (53) can in fact capture the Afrikaans negation facts, we will first need to clarify the manner in which prosodic phrases are assumed to be constructed. I adopt Truckenbrodt's (1995) syntax-PF mapping assumptions (cf. also Selkirk 1995), which are presented in (54):

(54) A. ALIGN-XP, R: ALIGN (XP, R; P, R)
      'For each XP, there is a Phonological phrase (P) such that the right edge of XP coincides with the right edge of P'

   B. ALIGN-XP, L: ALIGN (XP, L; P, L)
      'For each XP, there is a Phonological Phrase (P) such that the left edge of XP coincides with the left edge of P'

For Truckenbrodt, A above applies to consistently right-recursive (i.e. head-initial) languages, while B applies to consistently left-recursive (i.e. head-final) languages. For the purposes of this discussion, I will abstract away from the vexed question of how 'headedness' should be captured (via a Head Parameter, as traditionally assumed, or via differences in movement operations, as in LCA-based approaches or via some combination of (aspects of) these two); all that matters here is that PF be able to 'recognise' the position of a head in a given syntactic structure as either initial or final **relative to the material contained within the phrase associated with that head**. In other words, all that is required in the present context is that PF be able to determine **surface** head-positioning; syntax-internal 'headedness' is irrelevant. Thus PolP, which is head-initial in the usual (syntax-internal) sense (cf. section 3.1.1.2) is in fact head-final as far as PF is concerned

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[23] Cf. also the English *The thing is is that* … phenomenon (cf. Massam 1999).

because the string that PF operates on is one in which the head of Pol follows all the material contained in the phrase that it heads.[24] Consider (55) by way of illustration (~~strikethrough~~ once again signifies lower copies which are deactivated at PF and therefore not pronounced):

(55) a. Ek   het   nie$_1$ sy redenasie verstaan   nie$_2$.
      I   have   not   his reasoning   understood NEG
      'I didn't understand his reasoning.'

    b. [$_{PolP}$[$_{CP}$ *Ek het* [$_{TP}$ ~~*ek*~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~*ek*~~ *nie$_1$* [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ *sy redenasie*] ~~*verstaan*~~] *v*] ~~*het+T*~~]] *nie$_2$*]

For expository purposes, (55b) once again reflects relatively conservative assumptions about West Germanic clause structure. Thus (i) VP, *v*P and TP are all assumed to be head-final in the syntax (X is merged so that it follows its complement) and (ii) V is not assumed to raise (cf. Vikner 2005 and the discussion in section 3.1.1.2). Auxiliary *het* ('have') is indicated as having been merged in T as there appear to be good reasons to assume that temporal auxiliaries in Afrikaans do not raise from *v* (cf. i.a. the fact, noted in section 2.2, that they are not sensitive to thematic – i.e. *v*P-related – distinctions like unaccusativity). The relevant point here is that PolP, which is in fact head-initial in the syntax, is, in PF terms, as recognisably head-final as any of the structures which are indicated as being syntactically head-final. Crucially, then, I assume that the mapping algorithm in (54) pays attention to string-positioning 'headedness' and not to syntactic headedness. For Afrikaans, then, (54) will apply in the following way:

(a) A will apply to NP, DP, CP and most PP (including all the locative ones discussed in section 2.2); and
(b) B will apply to VP, *v*P, TP and PolP.[25]

With our mapping assumptions in place, we can briefly confirm that they make the correct predictions as far as the permissibility of the structures in (52) are concerned. Consider

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[24] Recall the discussion of Pol's headedness in section 3.1.1.2 (cf. also Note 13). The point made there about the conceptual unfeasibility of postulating 'mixed' headedness within the CP-domain still holds as this was an argument about **syntactic** headedness, whereas **PF** headedness is at issue here. Analysing Afrikaans as a language with a head-initial PolP seems to be well motivated for a range of reasons, so the question that arises in the face of the superficial (PF) evidence to the contrary is how children can 'know' that this PolP is in fact syntactically head-initial? This problem becomes particularly acute if one assumes, as I am doing for expository purposes in this essay, that there are in fact two ways in which a language can be 'head-final' (either across-the-board or in respect of specific categories): it can be 'deep' head-final in the sense that heads follow their complements not only at PF, but also in the syntax, or it can be 'surface' head-final in the sense that heads precede their complements in the syntax, but EPP-satisfaction considerations result in them following their complements at PF. How can children determine the difference? If UG restricts children to postulating 'harmonic' headedness within domains, the problem disappears (a very desirable outcome in the Afrikaans case as the 'stranding' structures suggesting a head-initial PolP certainly do not constitute a high-frequency component of the PLD). In the present case, there is clear evidence that CP is head-initial; therefore Afrikaans acquirers will 'automatically' postulate a head-initial PolP too once they discover that this is activated in their language. The fact that this PolP is ultimately spelled out head-finally is then *per se* evidence signalling the presence (a) of an EPP-feature on Pol and (b) of the fact that this EPP-feature is satisfied by clausal pied-piping. In this connection, it is worth noting that there appear to be a great many languages featuring a head-initial CP which nevertheless permit clause-final discourse-related particles (see references in the main text and also Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts in prep. for further discussion).

[25] Note that in assuming that not only lexical, but also functional categories can define φs, I depart from Selkirk (1995), who proposes that only the former may do so. More research is required to determine whether a given category's 'visibility' to the mapping algorithm in (52) is universally fixed or subject to parametric variation. As will become clear from subsequent discussion in the main text, at least C's status as a φ-definer appears to be crucial in Afrikaans. Also relevant to this issue is the status of labels like *C, T, D*, etc. See Biberauer (in prep. d) for further discussion.

(56) where **bolded** brackets indicate a syntactic phrase-edge which also maps onto a prosodic phrase-edge:

(56) a.   Die rede   dat hy weg <u>is</u>, <u>is</u> dat   hy moeg was.
        the   reason   that he away is is that   he tired was
        'The reason that he's away is that he was tired.'

a'.   [$_{CP}$[$_{DP}$ Die rede [$_{CP}$ dat hy weg is**]]** is [$_{CP}$ dat …

b.   Dat ek di tal   gedoen <u>het</u>, <u>het</u>   hom verstom.
        that I it already done   have have him amazed
        'That I've already done it amazed him.'

b'.   [$_{CP}$[$_{CP}$ Dat ek dit al gedoen het**]** het **[**$_{TP}$ … hom verstom**]]**

c.   Die <u>by</u> <u>by</u>   die   blom is yslik.
        the   bee by/at the   flower is huge
        'The bee next to the flower is huge.'

c'.   [$_{DP}$ die [$_{NP}$ by **]** [$_{PP}$ by die blom**]]** is …

As the '-structures indicate, the phonetically identical elements are separated by prosodic boundaries in each case. Thus the fact that CP and DP are head-initial means that they are mapped onto prosodic phrases (φ) in accordance with A, which ensures that the right edges of these categories coincide with the right edge of a φ; the two *is*es in (56a) therefore occupy different φs and can therefore be spelled out adjacent to one another. The presence of CP- and NP-boundaries ensures the same outcome for the *het*s and the *by*s in (56b) and (56c) respectively (see Biberauer in prep. c for discussion that goes beyond Afrikaans, also of somewhat more complex cases than those discussed here).

Let us now consider whether (53) can also account for the *nie*-doubling and omission phenomena with which we are primarily concerned in this section.

Consider firstly (51), repeated here as (57) (prosodic phrase-edges once again indicated in **bold**):

(57) a.   Ek   wil   mense   wat   <u>nie$_1$</u> omgee   <u>nie$_2$</u> <u>nie$_1$</u> sien   <u>nie$_2$</u>.
        I   want people who not care   NEG not see   NEG
        'I don't want to see people who don't care.'

a'.   … [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ *mense* [$_{PolP}$ [$_{CP}$ *wat nie$_1$ omgee*] *nie$_2$*]]] …[$_{vP}$ *ek nie$_1$* …

b.   Ek   sien <u>nie$_1$</u> die   tweede '<u>nie$_1$</u>' <u>nie$_2$</u>.
        I   see   not the second   nie NEG
        'I don't see the second *nie*.'

b'.   [$_{PolP}$ [$_{CP}$ *Ek sien* [$_{TP}$…[$_{vP}$ ~~ek nie$_1$~~[$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ *die* [$_{NP}$ *tweede 'nie$_1$'*]]~~sien~~]~~sien~~] ~~sien~~]] *nie$_2$*]

As the partial structures indicate, the *nie*s that are spelled out adjacent to one another in both of these examples occupy distinct φs and are therefore predicted by (53) not to be affected by OCP-style deletion. In (57a), two φ-boundaries separate the adjacent *nie*s: the rightward boundary imposed by the fact that the negative relative clause (a PolP) is headed by a head-initial DP (containing an NP) and the leftward boundary mapped onto head-final VP. The same is true for (57b), where the 'use-mention' *nie$_1$*'s containment within a head-initial NP and DP places it within a φ which excludes the final Pol-head. (53) therefore makes the correct predictions as far as these examples are concerned.

The case of multiple negation-containing (50c), repeated here as (58b) alongside its single-negation counterpart (58a), is slightly more complicated (clause-structure assumptions as before):

(58) a.   Hy   kom   <u>nie</u>₁.
          he   come   not
          'He isn't coming.'

   a′.   [$_{PolP}$ [$_{CP}$ *hy kom* [$_{TP}$ ~~*hy*~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~*hy*~~ *nie₁* [$_{VP}$ ~~*kom*~~] ~~*kom+v*~~] ~~*kom+v+*~~T]] *nie₂*]

   b.   Hy   kom   <u>NIE</u>₁ <u>nie</u>₁.
        he   come   not   not
        'He isn't not coming', i.e. He is coming

   b′.   [$_{PolP}$ [$_{CP}$ *Hy kom* [$_{TP}$ ~~*hy*~~ [$_{vP}$ [$_{PolP}$ [*nie₁*] *nie₂*] ~~*hy*~~ *nie₁* [$_{VP}$ ~~*kom*~~] ~~*kom+v*~~] ~~*kom+v+*~~T]] *nie₂*]

Let us firstly consider (58a), an omission structure for which we had an account (under (39)) prior to the introduction of the prosodic phrase-mate condition in (53). Note that the prosodic boundaries imposed by (53) (marked in **bold** in (58)) place *nie₁* and *nie₂* in **distinct** prosodic phrases. Under (53), one would therefore expect both *nie*s to be spelled out, counter fact. Notice, however, that the troublesome φ-boundary (CP's right edge) in fact forms the right edge of a φ that will not ultimately contain any overtly realised material. In other words, it marks off the right edge of a unit which will not ultimately play a role in the prosodic structure of the unit that is articulated. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that this superfluous prosodic unit will be deleted before PF sends the structure on to the articulatory-perceptual component (cf. also Nespor & Vogel 1986 who argue that empty categories and their projections do not affect φ-formation). Let us assume that this is the case and, more specifically, let us assume the following sequence of PF steps after the computational component has sent the structure constructed during Narrow Syntax to PF (see Biberauer in prep. d for further discussion):

(59)
   (i)   'first-pass' formation of φs (essentially) on the basis of the mapping algorithm in (54);
   (ii)   'filling in' of the phonological specifications of the various feature-bundles operated on by syntax. This step entails both spelling out overtly realised copies and suppressing/deleting lower copies;
   (iii) 'second-pass' refinement of φs: deletion of all φs lacking overtly realised material.

Given (59), we can see that omission structures which, like (58a), do not feature any overtly realised material in the VP-domain will always be subject to the 'second-pass' φ-refinement operation in (iii). Consequently, *nie₁* and *nie₂* will always end up in the same φ, with the result that (53) applies.

Consider, finally, (58b), a structure in which two *nie*s are permitted to surface adjacent to one another. As noted above, intonational and other considerations make it very clear that we are dealing with two adjacent *nie₁*s in this case. More specifically, the first *nie₁* scopes over the second *nie₁*, thereby cancelling it out in the manner of double negatives in non-negative concord languages. As Afrikaans is, however, a negative concord language, we must assume that (50c)/(58) actually contains not just the two *nie*s overtly realised, but also two unrealised polarity markers. One of these is, as for a single-negation structure, associated with the sentential negation, i.e. it is a PolP associated with CP. This is the polarity marker that is realised in the embedded counterpart of (50c/58) (… *∂at hy NIE₁ nie₁ kom nie₂*). The other is specifically associated with the negator which overrides the first negation, i.e. it forms a PolP 'shell' around the negator as indicated in (58b′) above (the precise positioning of this higher, 'cancelling' negator is not crucial for our purposes; it

could also be merged below the external argument, directly above the sentential negator).[26] Note that *nie₁*, here and elsewhere, is not marked as a category 'seen' by the mapping algorithm in (54). This reflects the fact that *nie₁*, like other VP-adverbs, arguably does not constitute a category that actually selects its own complement, i.e. it is not the kind of category that can meaningfully be defined as 'head-initial' or 'head-final' (cf. also Note 23). Wherever it occurs as the sole element in a PolP structure, it will then end up being assigned to the same φ as *nie₂*, with the result that *nie₂* is subject to deletion under (53). As this is also the scenario that would obtain in the embedded counterpart of (50c/58), we would expect embedding in this case to make no difference to the overt realisation of the polarity-marker associated with the 'cancelling' negator. This expectation is borne out as the corresponding embedded structure is … *ðat hy NIE₁ nie₁ kom nie₂*, as noted above.

Overall, then, it seems that (53) offers us an adequate means of accounting for the negation-related doubling and omission structures in Afrikaans.

3.1.3 ▣ Conclusion

The discussion of Afrikaans doubling and omission structures in the negation domain illustrates how careful investigation of structures of this type can uncover facts about their structure and about Afrikaans clause structure more generally that would not otherwise be apparent. Thus we have shown that the presence vs. absence of *nie₂* appears to be conditioned, not by a language-specific, construction-specific haplology mechanism of the kind originally outlined in (39), but instead by an apparently more generally valid PF-deletion mechanism which is specifically guided by a syntax-PF mapping algorithm that has previously been argued to apply crosslinguistically (see Biberauer in prep. c for further discussion). The systematic manner in which (53) enables one to predict not only the (non-)realisation of *nie₂*, but also the (im)possibility of adjacent *nie*s shows that it is correct, as den Besten (1986) originally implied, to maintain the view that Afrikaans is a strict negative concord language. At a more specific level, it also serves as a clause-structure diagnostic, giving us insights into the positioning of various non-negative elements ('scrambled' vs. 'non-scrambled' objects, adverbs, etc.) and opening up the possibility of adjudicating the merits of alternative clause-structure proposals (i.a. whether a consistently head-initial analysis of Afrikaans clause structure is feasible, *contra* Haegeman 1995:300, Note 5). And at a more general level, it appears to facilitate insights into the internal workings of PF (see Biberauer in prep. d for more discussion).

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[26] Further investigation of Afrikaans negation structures suggests the correctness of the idea that Pol is not exclusively C-related – in the sense of specifically being clause-related – in this language. Recall, for example, the fact that 'extra' *nie₂*s may serve a (polarity-)reinforcing function in spoken Afrikaans (cf. (21-22) above). More generally, it seems that all focusable XPs are compatible with an overtly realised Pol-head. The following examples illustrate:

> (i) Nie₁ die BOEK nie₂, maar die KOERANT wil ek hê.
> *not the book not but the newspaper want I have*
> 'Not the book, but the newspaper is what I want.'

> (ii) A: Watter ene wil jy hê? Die groene of die rooie?
> *which one want you have the green or the red*
> 'Which one do you want? The green or the red?'

> B: Nie₁ die groene nie₂!
> *not the green NEG*
> 'Not the green one!'

> (iii) Ek is [nie₁ vir 'n oomblik (nie₂) / nie₁ in die minste (nie₂)] spyt.
> *I is not for a moment NEG/ not in the least NEG sorry*
> 'I am not sorry for a minute/I am not in the least sorry.'
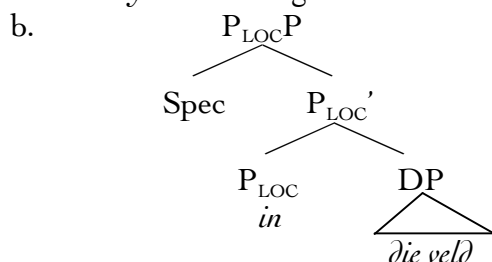
3.2 ▣ Adposition doubling vs. omission

Like negation, Afrikaans adposition (henceforth: PP) structure has not received much attention in the literature (Oosthuizen 2000 is a notable exception). This section will be specifically concerned with the directed motion structures introduced in section 2.2 above in which we see an alternation between P-doubling and omission.

3..2.1. ▣ Afrikaans adposition structure: the proposed analysis

Building on earlier work by Koopman (1997/2000) and den Dikken (2003)[27], Biberauer & Folli (2004) propose an analysis of Afrikaans adpositional structures in terms of which located motion structures (prepositional structures) are simpler than their directed motion counterparts (circum- or postpositional structures). Specifically, Biberauer & Folli propose that located motion structures involve just a single P-head, designated P_{LOC}, while directed motion structures always involve two distinct P-heads, P_{LOC} which once again expresses location, and P_{DIR} which expresses directed motion. Let us consider some examples by way of illustration.
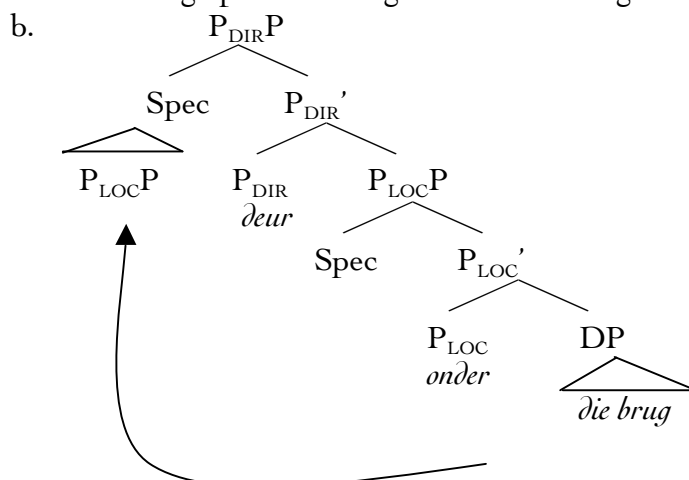
(60) illustrates a located motion PP, which is assumed to be headed by P_{LOC}:

(60) a. Hulle   loop <u>in</u> die   veld.   (= (11a))
          they   walk in   the   bush
          'They are walking in the bush.'

   b. $P_{LOC}P$
                        /   \
                     Spec P_{LOC}'
                                /   \
                           P_{LOC} DP
                             in   △
                                       die veld

(61) illustrates a circumpositional directed motion structure, which is assumed to consist of a located motion component, *onder die brug* headed by prepositional *onder*, which combines with a directed motion component, headed by 'postpositional' *deur*:

(61) a. Die   vragskuit   vaar <u>onder</u>   die   brug <u>deur</u>.   (= (14a))
          the   barge   travel under   the   bridge through
          'The barge passes through under the bridge.'

   b. $P_{DIR}P$
                          /   \
                       Spec P_{DIR}'
                      △   /   \
                $P_{LOC}P$ P_{DIR} $P_{LOC}P$
                              deur   /   \
                                        Spec P_{LOC}'
                                                  /   \
                                             P_{LOC} DP
                                              onder   △
                                                          die brug

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As the structure shows, the assumption is that both P_{LOC} and P_{DIR} are head-initial in the syntax. P_{DIR} selects P_{LOC} and additionally bears an EPP-feature which requires the raising of an appropriate XP to Spec-P_{DIR}.[28] I leave aside here the matter of precisely which features P_{DIR} probes for and also of this P-head's lexical vs. functional status,[29] as the central point for current purposes is the difference in the complexity of located vis-à-vis directed motion structures. A consideration that may, however, ultimately be significant in determining the structure of Afrikaans PPs – and precisely how the notion of 'complexity' is to be understood here – is the fact that the language features a number of ambiguous Ps which may be used to express either located or directed motion – *in* ('in'/ 'into'), *uit* ('out(side)'/ 'to outside'), *op* ('on'/ 'up(wards)'), *binne* ('inside'/ 'into inside') and *buite* ('outside'/ 'to outside') all being cases in point. Given this lexical fact, it is tempting to assume that these items may in fact be lexically underspecified, with their specific located vs. directed motion interpretations deriving from the functional structure with which they combine. In the case of directed motion, the relevant functional head bears an EPP-feature which is absent in the located motion case. Leaving aside these details, however, the important point for current purposes is that P_{DIR} is assumed to be obligatorily associated with an EPP-feature. In (61), this EPP-feature is satisfied by raising of $P_{LOC}P$ to Spec-$P_{DIR}P$; thus another case of comp-to-spec movement (see Note 12). Circumpositional structures like those illustrated in (15), i.e. the 'non-standard' doubling structures in which the 'pre-' and the 'post' position are formally identical, are assumed to have the same structure, as illustrated in (62):

(62) a. Hulle   loop <u>in</u> die   veld <u>in</u>.
        they   walk in the   bush in
        'They are walking into the bush.'
    b. $P_{DIR}P$
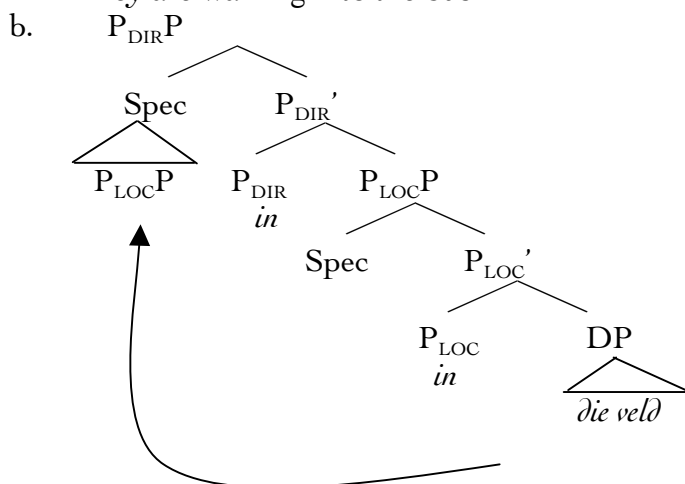
The question that now arises is whether postpositional directed motion structures, which feature only a single P-element, should in fact be thought to involve the complex structure of their circumpositional counterparts. Biberauer & Folli argue that they should be and

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[28] P_{DIR} therefore resembles Pol in being a head which is merged into a head-initial structure in the syntax, but which is ultimately spelled out as stringwise head-final.

[29] As noted in Biberauer & Folli (2004:22, Note 4), Koopman and den Dikken both assume Dutch PPs to be associated with an extensive functional structure, with P_{DIR}, for example, being part of this functional structure. Fine-grained analysis of Afrikaans PP-structure was not the aim of Biberauer & Folli and it is also not the aim of the present paper. Accordingly, no significance should be attached to the fact that I will refer here to P_{LOC} and, in particular, P_{DIR} in a way that may seem to conflate lexical and functional properties – P_{DIR} being associated with 'directed motion' semantics in the manner of a lexical element, but simultaneously being able to bear a movement-triggering EPP-feature and, potentially, act as a probe in the manner of a functional head, for example.

focus in particular on the 'free variation' in modern spoken Afrikaans (MSA) between doubling-type circumpositional structures like that in (62) and postpositional ones such as that in (63) (which is the only permissible option in standard Afrikaans/SA):

(63)   Hulle   loop die   veld <u>in</u>.
          they   *walk the*   *bush* *in*
          'They walk into the bush.'

Drawing on Biberauer & Richards (2006)[30], Biberauer & Folli propose that the semantically vacuous alternation in MSA between doubling structures like (62) and omission structures like (63) can be understood as the consequence of differences in the 'size' of the category which undergoes raising to Spec-P_{DIR}P. More specifically, Biberauer & Folli propose that circumpositional structures involve P_{LOC}P-fronting, as illustrated in (60b), while postpositional structures involve DP-fronting as illustrated in (64):

(64)
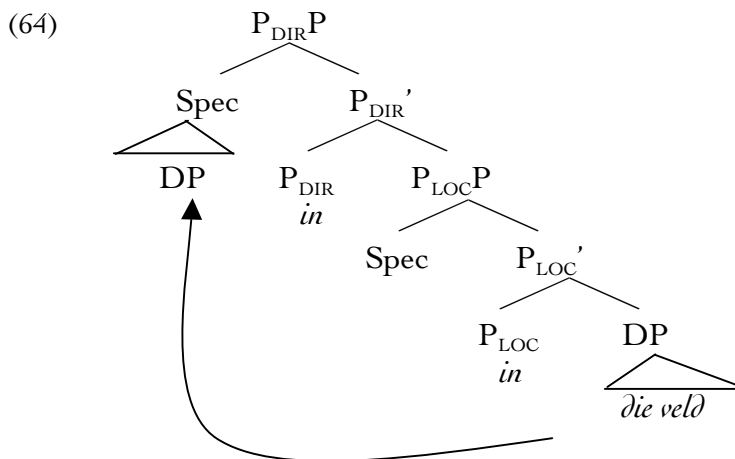
In (64), only *die veld* undergoes raising to Spec-P_{DIR}P to satisfy P_{DIR}'s EPP-requirement, P_{LOC} *in* being stranded. According to Biberauer & Richards (*op. cit.*), languages may be expected to exhibit semantically vacuous alternations involving word-order and also realisational differences (i.e. 'true optionality') wherever a grammar 'doesn't mind' how an obligatory EPP-feature is satisfied. In the present case, we may reasonably assume that the features P_{DIR} probes its c-command domain for will, in the case of structures like (62b) and (64), not be located on P_{LOC} *in*. Recall that this is one of the ambiguous Ps in Afrikaans which I assume to be underspecified in the lexicon. As such, *in* cannot bear features for which the probe, also *in* (or at least associated in some 'extended projection' sense with *in*; see Note 28), is not already valued. Whenever P_{LOC} *in* raises to Spec-P_{DIR}P (cf. (62b)), it can therefore be thought of as being 'pied-piped' as non-obligatory material just as, for example, prepositions may be pied-piped in *wh*-contexts where the *wh*-phrase is the actual goal sought by the probe. The proposal is therefore that we would expect to see semantically vacuous alternations in a limited subset of Afrikaans PPs, namely those featuring underspecified P-elements. This prediction is borne out in MSA, as the examples in (15) show. The fact that all Afrikaans native-speakers employ alternating structures of this kind suggests that the absence of the alternation in SA simply points to the normative effects of standardisation.

Note that what we have said so far cannot, however, be the whole story: allowing P_{DIR}'s EPP-feature to be satisfied either via P_{LOC}P (pied-piping) or DP (stranding) leaves us with the following two structures (lower copies indicated in parentheses):

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[30] Ideas central to Biberauer & Richards (2006) were first presented in Biberauer & Richards (2003).

(65) a. [$_{PDIRP}$ [$_{PLOCP}$ *in die veld*] *in* ($P_{LOC}P$)]   (pied-piping)
     b. [$_{PDIRP}$ [$_{DP}$ *die veld*] *in* [$_{PLOCP}$ *in* (DP)]]   (stranding)

As (65) shows, pied-piping EPP-satisfaction correctly generates the circumpositional structure ((a)), but stranding delivers a structure featuring two 'postpositions'. Closer investigation of (65b), however, reveals that this is a structure which would be mapped onto φs as follows:

(66) **[**$_{PDIRP}$ [$_{DP}$ *die veld*] *in* [$_{PLOCP}$ *in* (DP)**]**]

As shown, the two *in*s in (65b) will end up in the same φ, with the result that we would expect the second of these, locative *in*, to undergo deletion under (53). As the structure is interpreted as a directed motion structure, it is clearly correct that the surviving *in* be P_{DIR}. If we take prosodic mapping into account, Biberauer & Richards's optionality-based analysis therefore seems to be able to correctly derive the postpositional structure and account for its interpretive identity to a doubling-type circumpositional structure. Just as in the negation case, doubling and omission therefore appear to follow from the (non-) operation of an apparently generally applicable haplological mechanism.

4 ▣ Conclusion: The Implications – Insights from Doubling vs. Omission

The empirical focus of this paper has been two superficially rather different doubling and omission structures, those which surface in Afrikaans negation and adpositional contexts respectively. I have argued that, despite initial appearances, these doubling and omission phenomena are in fact regulated in same way, namely via a very general haplological mechanism which appears to be widely operative. The mechanism in question dictates that phonologically identical elements may not be spelled out adjacent to one another wherever these occupy the same prosodic phrase (φ), with the construction of φs being syntactically mediated in the manner assumed by Selkirk (1995), Truckenbrodt (1995) and others.

Viewing doubling and omission in this manner has a number of appealing consequences. Firstly, it facilitates a straightforward, non-stipulative analysis of the structures concerned, showing them to be similar to other unrelated structures exhibiting doubling/omission alternations. In the negation case, it specifically facilitates an explicit account of how the deletion operations/filters that have previously been proposed actually operate in order to regulate the (non)-occurrence of *nie$_2$* and also the contexts in which *nie*s may appear adjacent to one another. This, in turn, enables us to view Afrikaans as a strict negative concord language, thereby resolving the language's until now rather problematic status in the typological context. Secondly, it enables Afrikaans to be viewed as a 'natural language' which is not, in fact, as different from other languages as might, at first sight, seem to be the case. In this connection, it would be very interesting to investigate whether the analysis proposed here carries over to Mòcheno, which seems to behave rather similarly (cf. Notes 2 and 8). Thirdly, it brings to light a new – and at least in the Germanic context as we currently know it – unique clause-structure diagnostic which may well serve to shed much-needed new light on the nature of the 'head-finality' instantiated in Afrikaans (and, possibly, beyond). Finally, it also has very specific implications for the way in which we view the post-syntactic operations that take place at PF. As discussed in section 3.1.1.3, the haplological mechanism proposed here entails that PF operate in a very specific manner, with certain operations necessarily preceding others. The proposals made here therefore also make a contribution to the current debate about the nature and architecture of PF and, more specifically, about the nature of PF-deletion operations (cf. Holmberg 2005, Neeleman & Szendrői (2005) and Roberts 2006, all of whom propose **feature**-based

PF-deletion operations. This suggests that there is more than one species of PF-deletion process.)

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